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COMMUNITY COÖRDINATION

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The February 1936 issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY indicated tendencies, programs, and problems in the "movement" toward the coördination of community services and activities. The articles in this issue are intended to answer questions which the previous articles left unanswered.¹

From what source should community coördination come?

In practice, coördination has been initiated by the board of education, the council of social agencies, the women's club, a recreation commission, a volunteer lay committee, or an official committee appointed by the mayor. Generally it is felt that any

¹ *Other sources.*

K. J. Scudder and K. S. Beam, "Who Is Delinquent?" The Los Angeles County Plan of Coördinating Councils, Los Angeles County Probation Department, twenty-five cents.

"Youth—How Communities Can Help," Office of Education, United States Department of Interior. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., ten cents.

S. Glueck and E. T. Glueck, editors, *Preventing Crime* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936) Part I, Coordinated Community Programs; Part II, School Programs

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agency can initiate coördination but that the school is the most logical agency, because of its potential leadership and facilities and because of the close relationship of community conditions and spirit to its aims and problems. It is more important that all agencies coöperate than that any particular agency shall initiate the movement.

How is a coördinating body organized?

Coördination should not be started in a community merely because it is being done elsewhere, nor should the methods of coördination used in one community be adopted by another without reference to its own needs and resources. Usually coordination will be started when some specific problem is recognized throughout the community. The immediate problem may be a series of accidents which brings people together to plan a safety program, other specific difficulties may lead to coöperative thinking, planning, and action in the fields of public health, education, recreation, crime prevention, housing, or adult education.

When interested citizens and representatives of organizations come together at a first informal meeting to discuss the specific problem, they will realize the need for: (1) fact-finding investigations, (2) discussions of possible remedial and preventive programs, (3) an organization to (a) act as a steering committee, (b) inform and educate the community, (c) put into effect programs that are selected as desirable.

It is inevitable that the preliminary discussion will reveal the interrelationships of problems and the interdependence of organizations. A discussion of crime prevention leads to consideration of education, recreation, housing, health, and government. A discussion of recreation will lead to consideration of the same problems. The health problem cannot be studied without reference to the other related problems. The necessity for broad, representative leadership is obvious.

The nature of the preliminary meetings will be determined by community traditions, by the available leadership, and by the urgency of the specific problem. A panel discussion, an open forum, a mass meeting, or a "business" meeting held between community singing and games might serve the purpose.

What organizations should be represented on a coördinating committee?

Generally, those organizations that have community progress as an objective should be included on the coordinating committee. Sectarian groups should be balanced and political clubs should be discouraged from membership unless they can assimilate a viewpoint broader than the purposes of their club. Lay groups (civic organizations, patriotic societies, women's clubs, parents' associations, and service groups) should join with professional groups (*i. e.*, board of education, chamber of commerce, bar association, medical association, and departments of health, police, and parks). All organizations need not be represented but it is important that as large a group as possible be invited.

Less formal committees of interested citizens or officially appointed commissions will be effective only if they secure the assistance and support of representative community organizations.

Into what areas can the community problem be divided?

The community problem may be divided into the following areas: recreation, health, police and fire protection, housing, crime, relief, education, employment, and government.

We should keep in mind that the above mentioned areas are administrative units. Some committees have attempted to set up administrative units to consider community problems as they affect people classified as children, youth, and adults. This classification calls attention to neglected age groups but it is difficult,

if not almost impossible, to administer a program for any age group without duplicating the services of other administrative units in the community.

What are some of the outcomes in communities that have organized for coöperative solution of common problems?

1. Increased efficiency in the individual organizations
2. Better understanding among organizations
3. The establishment of an effective program in meeting all the needs of the community
4. The development of community consciousness
5. The more effective utilization of community resources and leadership
6. The elevation of the cultural level for the people of the community

How may a program function in a suburban area? (Coördination in the Borough of Queens, New York City)

Like most programs of community coördination, the program in Queens originated in the Council of Social Agencies and concerned itself with organization and service aspects of social service. During the twelve years of its work, the Council of Social Agencies saw with increasing clarity that community welfare was broader than social service. However, the constitution and tradition of the Council of Social Agencies did not place it in a position to provide leadership in the broader field of community coördination.

Half a dozen years ago, the Council started to add to its working groups, informally and illegally, lay and professional groups that were willing to coöperate with the social workers. The larger groups concerned themselves with the broader aspects; the nucleus Council groups continued with the narrower, professional sections on health, child welfare, relief, etc.

Two years ago it became obvious that there was a borough-

wide desire for coördinated research, planning, and action; yet it was equally clear that many interested organizations were unwilling to participate if the coördination was largely in the hands of social workers. Two alternatives were considered: the first involved a change in the Council of Social Agencies to make it a council of community agencies; the second proposal was to establish a new council of community agencies in which the social agencies, with other organizations, would participate.

Continuing in its experimental spirit, the Council of Social Agencies established a new organization, The Queens Committee for Social Progress, which is very loosely associated with the Council of Social Agencies. In addition to the social agencies, the following coöperate in borough surveys, forums, planning, and coördination:

League of Women Voters, civic organizations, Federation of Women's Clubs, Good Citizenship League, Parent-Teacher Association, Queens Federation of Mothers' Clubs, Better Films League, Council of Jewish Women, Jewish Center, Federation of Protestant Churches, Lutheran Service for Queens, League of Native Born, community councils, Chamber of Commerce, Bar Association, Women's Bar Association, Queensboro Teachers' Association, Queens Medical Society, American Legion, Queensboro public libraries, Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts.

In addition to these agencies, the following special services were represented on the Queens Committee for Social Progress (many of which have requested the Committee to act in an advisory capacity): WPA projects (adult education, forums, recreation, housekeeping, domestic training, nursery schools), National Youth Administration, Home Relief Bureau, New York State Employment Bureau, Departments of Hospitals and Health, and the Police Department Bureau of Juvenile Aid.

The activities of the Queens Committee for Social Progress may be classified as research, dissemination, coordination, planning, and community action.

Research has been carried on from time to time to inventory

services and determine needs in adult education, recreation, health service, housing, and schools. This information is to be organized and extended through a National Youth Administration research project.

Yearly forums have brought together leaders in various fields with organization leaders who are in close contact with the services, needs, and opportunities of the Borough. The forums conducted this spring cover "Permanent Social Values from the World's Fair" (to be held in Queens in 1939), "Community Coördination in the Crime-Prevention Program," "Problems of Employment and Reemployment," "The Status and Future of the Adult Education Program," "Mobilizing for Health," "The Total Program in Recreation."

With the coöperation of the WPA forum project the committee encourages the development of forums, similar to the central forums, at individual organization meetings and in the neighborhood communities that persist from the old towns and villages that were amalgamated to make the Borough.

The information service, the Committee's publication *Social Progress in Queens*, and newspaper and radio publicity supplement the forums in disseminating information. Out of the forums have developed specific plans for community improvement.

The Committee for Social Progress does not claim credit for any of the improvements that it has sought and realized. Most of them are the results of the thinking, planning, and programs of the many organizations that look to it as a clearing house, information service, and coördinator for Borough progress.

Will new areas of service and new positions be created in the field of community coördination?

Judging from the many significant trends and actions on the part of national, State, county, city, and community bodies, it

seems logical that community coördination will be of increasing importance and will open a new area of professional service. At present, leadership is, almost without exception, voluntary or assumed by leaders in more limited areas of service and responsibilities—leaders in schools, service clubs, churches, recreation organizations, or crime-prevention agencies.

*What are some of the characteristics of a good coördinating-committee executive?*²

1. Background training or experience in community surveys, studies, and organization
2. Knowledge of and contact with public and private agencies, their organization, function, and service (including schools, social agencies, libraries, community clubs and organization, public and private health agencies)
3. Experience as an able discussion leader, speaker, and publicist
4. Personal qualifications that will make the coördinator sympathetic and accessible to the community
5. Knowledge of current sociological trends in such fields as crime prevention, character education, health, housing, recreation, education and adult education, and an unbiased objective attitude toward problems in community planning
6. An ability to adapt to changing conditions and viewpoints with a maturity that warrants confidence in leadership and judgment
7. An ability to initiate community activities and then to stimulate widespread participation and assumption of responsibility in the community

² Prepared by the Queensboro Council of Social Agencies as a result of a forum on recreation planning

How should the community-coördination executive be selected?

The method would depend upon the size of the community project, the caliber of available leadership, and the amount of financial support that can be obtained.

The community coördinator may be (1) a volunteer member of the coördinating committee who has reasonable ability, background, and time, (2) employed by the coördinating committee, or (3) employed by one of the coördinated public or private agencies.

How can a community determine whether or not it is ready for coördination?

1. Are there problems that are common to several private and public agencies?
2. Are there evidences of overlapping, competition, and neglect when the combined programs of agencies are evaluated?
3. Is there leadership among the organizations or citizenry able and eager to plan more effective community service?
4. Is there some problem of immediate concern that is generally recognized in the community as one requiring immediate action?

DELINQUENCY PREVENTION THROUGH COORDINATION¹

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I. The characteristics of a council for the prevention of delinquency

1. *Location, meetings, officers.* The councils in this survey are scattered all the way from Bellingham, Washington (20 miles from the Canadian border) to Durham, North Carolina, and from San Diego, California, to New Haven, Connecticut. They are found in towns of all sizes, from a village of 500 people up to our largest cities—New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Their meetings range in attendance from a half-dozen people to a hundred or more. The frequency of meetings varies from a weekly session (in Berkeley, California) up to the council in Madison, New Jersey, which brings together about one hundred people four times a year. The great majority of councils meet once each month, with committee meetings in between. Most of them have three officers; chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary. These three with committee chairmen frequently constitute an executive committee.

2. *Origin of councils.* These councils have not been promoted by any national organization. They have sprung up from a great variety of experiences, but under a local conviction that, if they are really to accomplish anything in the field of delinquency prevention, they will have to mobilize all their resources and join forces in a united program. The causes of delinquency have been found to be too varied and too complicated to be attacked

¹ A preliminary report of a national survey of various types of coordinated community programs in the interest of youth or for the prevention of delinquency conducted by the National Probation Association

successfully by any one group working alone. The interesting thing is that this same conviction should have struck so many different centers at approximately the same time. In some instances when their interest was aroused some one remembered having heard of such a plan that was operating in some near-by or distant city. They would then get all the information available and would adapt it to local needs. The coordinating council plan that has been worked out in California has apparently been used more widely than any other. However, the complete independence of the cities and towns working in this field is quite evident and receives eloquent testimony from the variety of names they have chosen.

3. *Membership.* The membership of these councils does not vary as much as one might suppose. Over one hundred of the councils studied include representatives from public departments (schools, police, probation, recreation, welfare, health, libraries, etc.), private agencies, both group work and case work, churches and citizens' organizations such as the service clubs, women's clubs, parent-teacher associations, and others. There seems to be more uniformity on this question of membership than on almost any other, although there is, of course, great difference in the strength of representation from these various groups. Many inequalities are found. Some will be strong on public officials and weak in other particulars. Some will have many private agencies represented, but few officials and citizens. Others may have a citizens' group with few of the others. Eleven councils are composed of representatives of citizens' organizations and private agencies without any officials. Seven councils include officials and private agencies without any citizen members, while two councils include only officials in their regular membership.

4. *Expense involved. Use of Federal projects.* What about the expense of maintaining this type of organization? Do these councils require a budget and have to go through the throes of

a financial campaign each year? No. The great majority of councils have no budget and no treasurer. Some of them pass the hat occasionally in order to have a small fund for postage and stationery. A few ask the member organizations to subscribe \$1.00 per year. Some of them have raised money, by dances or entertainments, for some specific purpose such as sending a group of children to camp.

Two councils at least have considerable money to handle. The Stock Yards Council in Chicago² receives over five thousand a year from the packing houses, while the Community Service Council at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York,³ this past year had a fund of \$6,000 provided from tax funds.

The expense of sponsoring such councils throughout an entire county or large city is another matter that will be taken up later.

Many councils have benefited by Federal projects under CWA, ERA, WPA, and NYA, and have accomplished results during the last three years that they never could have accomplished without the expenditure of a great deal of money. This has been particularly true in California and Washington, Pittsburgh, Richmond, Washington, D. C., New York, and probably a number of other cities.

5. *Principles, purposes, and objectives.* The statements of the principles, purposes, and objectives of the various councils are so diverse as to require a special report on this subject alone if justice were to be done. However, the differences are for the most part matters of phraseology with the same purpose in mind. There is one main point of difference but even on this one point the difference is more theoretical than real. Some feel that the prevention of delinquency should be stated as the principal objective of such a community organization. Others feel that it

² Described in this issue

³ Described in the February 1936 issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

should not be so stated but rather that the objective should be to work in the interest of all the children and youth of the community. Those in the latter group realize that in carrying out such a program they will be working to prevent delinquency, but they prefer not to have that fact emphasized.

Here are a few statements of purposes or objectives of the various councils selected as samples:

Portland, Oregon. To stimulate neighborhood concern for the welfare of its children, and to strengthen its organized efforts in this direction.

Los Angeles, California 1. To conduct studies, surveys, and conferences in order to discover the individual children, groups of children, and areas needing attention by private and public agencies. 2. To stimulate the local community, through representatives of civic organizations, to face their responsibility for community conditions affecting the lives of children, and to work with the officials and social workers in order to make the community a better place in which to live.

New York (Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies): Principles 1. The concentration of responsibility for a local delinquency area. 2. Utilization of services and cooperation of all preventive agencies 3. Extension of the program to all children, groups as well as individuals. 4. Changing of community conditions. 5. Education of the public. 6. Creation of new agencies, if necessary.

6. *Committees*. There is as great diversity in the matter of committees in these councils as there is in the matter of names and statements of objectives. Some councils have no committees at all but do all their work in one general meeting. This is likely to be true in small towns. Others have a long list of committees, sometimes with subcommittees attached. In southern California and in some other sections they favor three committees: adjustment, for the referral of individual cases; character building, for the extension of group activities, and environment, for improving the environment in both the home and the community. Other committees that are found in a number of councils are the

following: survey or research, recreation, community calendar, health, religious education, vocational guidance, parent education, motion pictures, and employment (for youth).

7. *Problems.* As a part of this survey each council was asked to state its most serious problem or problems. The one that was apparently most common had to do with the lack of recreation facilities and the seeming impossibility of securing the service they felt their children and youth needed. Here are some of the statements

Inadequate provision for leisure time of youth.

Opposition of borough council to plans for additional recreational facilities.

No indoor facilities during the winter.

No recreation facilities for girls.

No large auditorium No community center.

School playgrounds should be kept open after 3.00 p m.

Insufficient character-building groups, particularly in areas with high rate of delinquency.

Problems of leadership and administration came next.

The difficulty of securing good committee chairmen.

Need of volunteers with sufficient time to carry out the plans

Difficulty of knowing what to do, and of finding any one with time to do it.

We need long-time leadership, people who will stay by this work over a period of years.

What can you do with a leader who is seeking personal advantage and is using the council just as a means for promoting his own interest?

Our main problem is to decide just what our job really is

How can we be sure to maintain the initial interest over a long period of time?

Our problem is to control development, so that it does not get out of hand.

Other problems included the lack of cooperation on the part of certain public departments, private agencies, religious groups, or civic organizations. In a number of communities there were

one or more important agencies not represented on the councils, chiefly because the head man had not been sold on the idea or did not know what it was all about. In some cases the problem seems to have been general inertia, apathy, and lack of interest. In others the problem was "to get the members to unite their efforts instead of seeking individual glory." (One well-known social worker has described this self-interested type as "glory grabbers." This same worker stated that those who refused to cooperate are suffering from an affliction, sometimes found among social workers, known as "chronic insularity.")

Other problems had to do with undesirable motion pictures, salacious literature, slot machines, sale of liquor and cigarettes to minors. Several councils face a race problem involving Negro and white groups. In one district a swimming pool had to be closed, because the tension was so great. In several instances the chief problem is created by the peculiarities of the district itself—the shifting population, heavy percentages of the population on relief, cheap boarding houses, and the like.

Home conditions, family relations, and the neighborhood environment were, of course, mentioned as constituting serious problems.

II. What do these councils accomplish?

One of the first questions that is asked when this type of work is described to a new group is this "Well, just what do these councils accomplish? The plan sounds very logical and this type of work is tremendously important but does the scheme actually work? In short, do these councils get results?"

This same question was put up to council after council in personal interviews and by correspondence. As a result we have received reports, minutes, bulletins, booklets, and statements in such quantities that this section of the report becomes one of the most difficult to condense to the space available for it. It will be

impossible to do more than to indicate the varieties of accomplishments that have been reported, without indicating in each case the cities or towns that should be credited with these accomplishments. Since Francis H. Hiller in his report on the coordinating councils in California gave several pages to listing their accomplishments we shall not repeat this information but shall make only an occasional reference to California in the following summary.

The information that follows is based, for the most part, on statements made in interviews or by correspondence. These accomplishments are presented as reported, since they are in line with developments we have witnessed over and over again during the past five years.

It should be noted that when we refer to a council accomplishing certain things, it frequently means that some agency within the council has actually done the work. The council has served as a medium to discover the need, make the plan, and back up the agency selected to carry the plan into effect. Councils seldom carry out a project under their own names.

1. *Sociological studies.* Practically all councils reporting have had more or less elaborate studies made before deciding on their exact program. These studies have covered primarily delinquency areas and constructive resources. Some surveys have covered destructive influences as well. Perhaps the surveys made in Oakland (California), Richmond (Virginia), Detroit (Michigan), Washington, D C., and New York's lower west side have been the most complete. Surveys of all institutions in a given district have been made to discover the service now available. The usual reaction by the councils when these surveys are presented to them is that they have work cut out for them for many years to come if they are to meet the needs revealed.

2. *Education of the public.* One surprising revelation of this survey is the number of councils reporting the influence of their

work on the general public and definite efforts to educate the public. Some councils have published booklets such as the Sacramento publication, *Citizens of Tomorrow*. Los Angeles County published the *Coördinating Council Bulletin*, a monthly publication. Lincoln Park, Michigan, ran a series of articles in the local paper on "The Juvenile Court, Its Work in the Field of Delinquency Treatment and Prevention." Highland Park, Michigan, publishes a monthly bulletin. Other councils report that a definite community consciousness of the needs of children and youth has been created but they do not say exactly how this has been brought about. Some councils have put on radio programs. Fuller Park community council, Chicago, encouraged the establishment of a community newspaper. Berkeley, California, has conducted public forums.

The officers of nearly all councils have been in great demand to speak before civic organizations on the work of their councils and the community problems that they have encountered. Los Angeles has had electrical transcriptions made of dramatic incidents in the lives of some of their councils in order to present in graphic form just what they are accomplishing.

3. *Effect on council members.* One of the first statements that is made when we ask these councils what they accomplish is that the council work is a continual process of education for their members. This statement will be confirmed by the members themselves. One teacher remarked, "A year ago if a child created a disturbance in my room I immediately thought of punishment or discipline. Now I make a mental note of the fact that we will have to look into this child's problem in order to find out why he behaves that way." A social worker noted that she and others were becoming community-minded, whereas they had been quite agency-minded before participating in council work.

Some one has said that coöperation is not primarily activity but a state of mind. Certainly the experience with neighborhood

councils puts all the members in a state of mind that leads to coöperation.

It nearly always happens that when a group of officials, social workers, and citizens come together for the first time to form a community council it is necessary to introduce the group all around the circle because very few will know all the others.

These meetings bring about a much closer connection between the agencies, a much more friendly feeling, and a much better understanding. Several councils report that new techniques are constantly being reported and that all the members benefit by these new developments. There is also a sharing of information that is exceedingly valuable. One council reports that the police officer will frequently remark, "Now this is off the record but we would like to have your advice on how to handle this particular situation." It is needless to say that the police among others benefit greatly by the monthly meetings of these councils.

4. *Effect on agency programs.* One council reports, "Our council meetings tend to improve the quality of work of nearly all the agencies involved. Standards of work become known and all seek to attain the highest standards." Another reports, "The Y.M.C.A. and Boy Scouts are entering new fields and not only are taking boys with problems into their present groups but are going out into neglected areas to organize new groups." Another report states, "The council meetings have revealed to the schools the fact that they have not been giving the attention that they should give to behavior problems and have not been making as much use of other agencies as they might."

In addition agency programs are apparently benefited by the fact that many councils maintain community calendars in order to avoid conflicting dates. This means that each agency has a better chance to put over its community program.

The council's work has also led to a joining of the forces of all agencies on certain occasions when there is some big community

affair to be put over. In Sacramento, California, the schools, churches, playgrounds, and all organized groups joined forces on Halloween to keep the young people so thoroughly occupied that they would not have time to commit the usual depredations that accompany that day. The police reported that they had practically no calls that evening and the losses for the city were the lowest on record.

5. *Making use of existing facilities.* Many councils have reported that their efforts have led to a decided increase in the use of facilities for children and youth. The New York Lower West Side Council reports the opening of a gymnasium that had been closed. Washington, D.C., reports the opening of a swimming pool that had been closed. They persuaded a newspaper to put on a campaign for funds. Many councils report the wider use of the school equipment by persuading the school authorities to keep the playgrounds open after school closes. In Los Angeles one council was instrumental in turning an abandoned church into a community center. Churches have been urged to make better use of their equipment during the week; in different cities they have been assisted in their vacation-school programs, and the attendance has been greatly increased at these vacation schools. Councils have also encouraged more extensive use of libraries, and reading lists of books of greatest interest to boys and girls have been widely distributed. The attendance of children at summer camps has been given a boost by these councils. Some councils have raised funds to send boys and girls to camps who would otherwise not have been able to attend camp. Other councils have made a practice of planning summer excursions for children from the poverty-stricken districts. This work has been facilitated by the use of men and women on WPA projects.

Many councils have arranged publicity campaigns in order to call attention to all the facilities available. Nashville published a directory of leisure-time activities. New York (lower west

side) published a leisure-time information service. Compton, California, through the junior college, publishes a bulletin, *Recreation News*, each month. Dayton, Ohio, distributed a mimeographed report of all the summer activities.

6. *Increasing recreation facilities.* One of the remarkable accomplishments of these councils for delinquency prevention has been the increase in recreation facilities. Madison, New Jersey, reports four tennis courts, swimming pool, community center, field house, recreation building, gymnasium, etc. Lincoln Park, Michigan, reports an outdoor skating rink. Mt. Auburn (Cincinnati) reports that a new playground has been promised by the park board as a result of the council's request. Portland, Oregon, states that all of their councils have reported increased recreation facilities as a result of council activities. In many instances this has not meant any expenditure of funds because the council has arranged volunteer supervision for play areas that would otherwise have been closed. Pittsburgh reported that leadership had been provided on 66 playgrounds that otherwise would have been closed. Richmond, Virginia, states that its council secured a special appropriation from the city council for broadening of recreational opportunities and lengthening of playground hours. Steilacoom, Washington, a town of 500 people, was able to provide a basketball instructor for the boys and girls out of high school and a playground director for the beach during the summer. Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, employed a recreation director on full time, an assistant director on part time, five WPA workers, and fifteen volunteers. As a result the police inquire, "Where are the children? We don't see them roaming the streets any more."

7. *Providing service for individual children.* Many councils have special committees of officials and professional case workers who take up the problems of individual children and endeavor to work out a satisfactory solution. Fuller Park, Chicago,

has such a committee meeting every two weeks. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, puts practically its entire effort into this service to children. This is true also of the Germantown coördinating council. In Los Angeles last year over five hundred cases were referred to the adjustment committees by the police. These are cases that would otherwise have received no follow-up after the conference of the police and the parents.

This type of service makes it possible to discover, much sooner than would ordinarily be the case, many children who are in danger of becoming delinquent. That is, they receive early attention from some agency, making their adjustment much more simple than it would be several years later.

8. *Creation of new service for children.* As a result of the work of the Berkeley coördinating council a public-school behavior clinic was established which includes on its staff a psychiatrist, a pediatrician, a psychologist, and four visiting counselors. Richmond, Virginia, secured a juvenile crime-prevention officer from the department of public safety to act as a liaison officer between the individual child and the court, the police department, the social agencies, and society at large. A number of councils have been instrumental in persuading police departments to appoint special officers to handle juvenile cases.

9. *Increasing membership in existing groups and organizing new groups for children.* Many councils reported the circulation of a questionnaire in the schools in order to discover the children who would like to belong to some organized group but have hitherto not had such a membership. The list of names was then turned over to the groups preferred by the children and many of them were enrolled as members. In several cities there were found to be twice as many boys expressing a desire to belong to the Boy Scouts or to the Y.M.C.A. as were already members of these organizations. It was the same with the girls' groups. This information created a demand for new leaders and the demand

led to a new type of leadership—training courses in which all the character-building groups participated.

As a result of the studies of delinquency areas the character-building leaders in a number of cities have directed their attention toward districts that have hitherto been neglected. In one city the Y.M.C.A. requested the assignment of one entire section known to have a high delinquency rate and they agreed to follow up every boy whose name was given to them and see that he had the full advantages of the Y.M.C.A. if he cared to accept them. Another Y.M.C.A. had a leader who specialized in organizing groups of boys according to their chief interest. Washington, D.C., reported the organization of a Boy Scout group in the Negro district as a result of the council's work. Durham, North Carolina, reported a new type of work undertaken by the Y.W. C.A. in an area not previously covered. Activities of this sort are reported from so many councils that they could not all be listed.

This same interest in neglected groups applies to the camp program as well as to the regular year-round program, and literally hundreds if not thousands of children have had camp experience as a result of the work of these local councils.

10. *Special attention to young people from 16 to 25* A number of councils recognizing the serious problem facing young people out of school and unable to get work have carried on special efforts in their behalf. Lincoln Park, Michigan, maintains a special employment bureau for this group. Fifteen girls were placed in the first two weeks this employment bureau functioned. Highland Park, Michigan, reported 105 registered within a short time and 45 placed. Madison, New Jersey, maintains a junior employment service for boys and girls out of school. Other councils have stimulated special programs in dramatics, athletics, and social meetings for these young people.

Community dances have been sponsored or promoted by councils in a number of cities. Lincoln Park, Michigan, reported that

at six Saturday night dances 1,700 young people were in attendance at a charge of only ten cents each. This plan has been carried out in many other cities.

11. *Removing or controlling destructive influences.* Many councils have faced problems in the community environment where they felt certain influences were having a definite destructive effect on the character of children. In New York, the Lower West Side Council maintains a better-films committee which coöperates closely with the local theater managers and helps to select the films to be shown on Saturday afternoon. The Los Angeles councils helped to arrange a special service in the public library by which information is given over the telephone regarding any film. Bellingham, Washington, has carried on a campaign against salacious magazines and certain undesirable books in circulating libraries. Some councils have taken an active part in securing the adoption of ordinances regulating street trades and prohibiting the sale of newspapers, magazines, and other articles by young children.

12. *Improving the home environment.* Linwood (Cincinnati) has conducted a series of weekly classes for adults which have attracted from three to four hundred persons every Friday night. Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, promoted adult-education classes with a staff of one counselor, a director on part time, and eight volunteer teachers. Parent education has been emphasized by a number of councils. Some cities have carried on successful experiments in the poorer sections where the parents would not ordinarily be interested in classes of this sort. Los Angeles councils have promoted a series of institutes on family relations which have attracted hundreds of people to round-table discussion groups dealing with such subjects as these: problems of child guidance, teamwork in guiding youth, young people's forum on problems of personality, adjustments within the home to the

changed economic situation, community influences on family life, and pitfalls of married life.

III. The Causes of Failure

While attending certain council meetings I sometimes have the feeling that I am sitting in a car with the engine running but the car standing perfectly still. It is a good car, but it isn't getting anywhere. Some councils are like that. The meeting may be quite interesting and the council may be discussing some very important subjects, but when they adjourn nothing is decided and they are at just about the place where they started. In fact they may actually have lost ground, because one or more people present will decide on the way home, "Well, that will be my last meeting with that group. My time is too valuable and I have too many important things to do. They have a great idea there, but they are not putting it over." And the chances are that the council will have lost one or more of the very people who could have done it the most good.

1. *Not geared for action.* The trouble with such a council is that it is not geared for action. Councils must have the coöperation of certain public departments, institutions, agencies, and organizations, and must have their representatives at meetings. The chairman must know these resources and know where to turn for advice or for action when certain work is to be done. When such a chairman throws in the clutch, the gears mesh and the car begins to move. It is not always possible to have all these key people present at every meeting but the chairman can always appoint some one to see the right person and get the right result.

I attended such a meeting in Portland, Oregon. The chairman was a young lawyer who seemed to know how to get results. Every school in the district was represented, the probation department, the council of social agencies, the local settlement

house, and other agencies. The chairman apparently had assigned responsibility to several school principals at a previous meeting. These men had carried out instructions, had definite replies from the authorities, and plans were under way. The car was moving. The chairman himself reported on a personal assignment. He had gone to the city hall and found out just where they stood on a certain recreation plan. And so the meeting proceeded with definite problems, definite decisions, and definite results.

2. *Wrong type of leadership.* In visiting city after city in connection with this survey I discovered the corpses of some defunct councils, or heard the facts from some one. There were not very many of these deceased councils, comparatively few in fact, but they deserve careful study as to the causes of their untimely end. I found several others that seemed rather anemic with slim chances for a long life. In a few instances plans were ready to start a new council, but the leadership was so weak that one could almost predict failure or at least a very ineffective existence. In one instance a well-meaning individual started a council and then went away and left it. He seemed to feel that his work was done. Of course it died. A young council needs as much attention as a young infant. In one case an old feud between two officials was revived at a council meeting, and the council died as a result. In still another place the leader was too aggressive and moved ahead without consulting his group. The first thing he knew he was marching alone. As one unkind critic put it, "The fumes got ahead of the car."

3. *Wrong type of sponsorship.* In another city one citizens' group assumed the leadership without having enough information to lead such an organization. Of course the leadership was not recognized and the newborn council died within a few weeks of its birth. In still another city a citizens' group took the lead and insisted on carrying the full responsibility even to the exclusion of certain other agencies. A movement which attempts to

coördinate the efforts of all agencies in the child-welfare field defeats its own purpose if it begins by excluding certain agencies.

There are three points to note in these post-mortem examinations. First, that death has practically always taken place in the infancy of the organization; second, that the individual leader is a very important person to consider, and, third, that citizens' organizations seem to have difficulty in sponsoring a coördinating body. The latter two points will be covered in the next section, "The Price of Success."

4. *Variety of criticisms quoted.* It is well for us to consider some of the criticisms leveled at councils even when they seemed to be doing fairly well. Here are a few:

The council idea is all right but the present chairman is not the man for the place. He is very undiplomatic and has already antagonized some influential people.

What does the council do besides talk? What does it actually accomplish?

We do not accomplish as much as we would like. We need a full-time or part-time worker to carry out our plans.

We are ineffective because we are working alone. We need some one to come to us from a county or State office to help us out.

The _____ council made the mistake of bringing lay people into the case-study committee. As a result they went out of existence for a while and then reorganized.

The _____ council started off like another agency and began to raise money. Instead of acting as a coördinating body and using existing agencies they began to assume responsibilities for certain types of work just like an agency.

This particular council is too much of a school proposition. It is not really a community organization at all. The school is using it to solve the school problems.

It is just a scheme of the judge to get some publicity and to get a group of influential people back of him for the next campaign.

The man who is promoting this is a publicity hound. All he thinks about is breaking into print. It is a paper organization in more ways than one.

IV. The Price of Success

A study of the successful councils, also of the failures, leads inevitably to the conclusion that success depends more on the quality of leadership and supervision and the amount of assistance that councils receive than on any other factors

1. *Sponsorship.* The first requisite seems to be sponsorship of the local council by some well-known agency, public or private. It does not matter so much what agency it is so long as the leaders are wholeheartedly back of the council movement and are willing to put time and effort into this work. This means that the council will have a recognized headquarters and persons who can be depended on to give certain assistance. Participation in the council program becomes a part of the regular work of the staff members. From the very beginning the work of the local council assumes a place of importance in the community because it has the backing of a certain well-known public department or private agency.

A study of the agencies sponsoring councils reveals that this part is taken by juvenile courts and probation departments in four counties and five cities, representing over eighty councils. Most of these are on the Pacific coast. Next comes the council of social agencies which has played sponsor for the local councils in one county and eight cities, representing approximately forty councils. Municipal recreation departments have assumed sponsorship in four cities. City officials have taken the lead in two cities, while school officials have sponsored such organizations in three cities. Religious groups have helped to organize four councils, and private agencies, four councils. University professors have taken the lead in two instances. Six councils are apparently without sponsorship of any kind. It will be interesting to see how they succeed.

A question that arises frequently is, "What financial burden is involved in this sponsorship?" In most cases the first financial

responsibility is the time of one or more staff members. In several instances budgets have not been affected but a staff member has been instructed to give a certain amount of time to the local councils. In certain other instances an additional person has been taken on the staff either for full time or part time in order to give the supervision required.

2. *Can citizens' organizations sponsor councils?* The question is sometimes asked, "Can citizens' organizations successfully sponsor councils for the prevention of delinquency?" The experience thus far would indicate that lay groups should not accept full responsibility for this type of work. They can play a very important part, however, in launching a council program. This has been well illustrated in the city of Indianapolis by the work of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. This organization of progressive young business men heard about the council type of organization from their national juvenile-welfare committee. They made a study of the organization by getting all the literature they could on the subject. They then approached the heads of various city departments and private agencies and talked over the plan with them. When the time was ripe they presented the idea to the council of social agencies and received the assurance of the executive that he would be glad to present the plan to his board with his personal backing. Now the Junior Chamber of Commerce stands ready to back up the council of social agencies in any way that it can, but it will expect the council of social agencies to accept full responsibility when it once decides to enter this field.

Citizens' organizations and churches are not in a position to accept sole responsibility for the coordinating council-type of organization. But they can be of untold help in backing up the organization and giving support to the agency that does accept the responsibility. Space is lacking to describe adequately the part played in these local councils by service clubs, women's clubs,

parent-teacher associations, American Legion posts, chambers of commerce, and churches. Their work is equal in importance to that of official departments or private agencies, and they render a service that cannot be rendered by the others.

3. *Central executive boards.* A requirement for counties or large cities is a central executive board made up of representatives of the public and private agencies, the citizens' group having to do with children or youth, and representatives of local neighborhood councils where they have been developed.

There are three reasons why this board is so essential. First, it is necessary that the various interested agencies be adequately represented on a central executive board, because in this way they will have a definite part in planning this movement and will be informed of all that the local councils are doing. In the second place, if the local councils are to have the active coöperation of the agency representatives in their district, it is necessary that the head of the agency be a participant in this work and instruct the local staff workers to take part in the local program. In the third place, local councils find that they are continually seeking to improve the service to children provided by public departments and private agencies. Their best chance of securing such additional service is to have the full coöperation of the heads of these departments and agencies both on the central planning board and on the local council itself.

4. *Field workers.* Another requisite for success in this type of work in a county or city with a number of local councils is a field worker on full or part time. This worker acts as a liaison officer between the central planning board and the local council. He attends practically all council meetings and is ready to give advice or assistance whenever it is needed. When some problem arises which he cannot meet he takes the problem back to the central committee and asks advice. He gives the local council confidence that it is not working alone and that at all times it

has the backing, not only of the sponsoring agency from which the field worker comes, but of the central planning board on which many agencies are represented. Washington, D.C., has a part-time worker from the council of social agencies. Pittsburgh has three workers from the federation of social agencies, one in the county area and two in the city of Pittsburgh. The Detroit council of social agencies has one worker in the field. The probation department in Los Angeles has a full-time officer engaged in this work. The Seattle juvenile court has recently added to its staff a man to organize and assist local councils. The Portland, Oregon, council of social agencies has a worker on part time.

5. *The small-town council.* The council in the small town will have to expect to pay the same price for success although the members may find that no actual expenditure of money is required. That is, the small-town council should have the backing of some recognized department or agency. The council itself should have representatives from public and private agencies and civic organizations, and it should have an officer, if possible, who can give some time to this work, depending on the size of the town and the extent of its program.

The town and the smaller city will also find that a visit from a county or State department representative is of great help to them and gives them a great deal of confidence.

6. *Each group to be considered of equal importance.* Recognition on the part of the council leaders of the contribution to be made by each group in the council is an important consideration. Sometimes a leader who belongs in one group is inclined to minimize the importance of the experience and information of another. The success of the council work depends on drawing out all the information possible and making use of the experience of all the members.

The social worker brings his knowledge of technique, meth-

ods, resources in the community, and of the problems to be faced. The official brings his knowledge of the city government, of plans and possibilities as far as a given district is concerned. The private citizen brings his knowledge of the community, his personal interest in his own neighborhood, and the backing of the organization he represents. In finding a solution to a given community problem it is often the local citizen who comes through with an original idea that has escaped all the others. He is not hampered by official procedure or trained in social-work technique, but he knows his community and can often improvise ways and means of getting things done that escape the others.

7. *The local council functions as a coördinating body—not as an agency.* Strict adherence to the original idea of coördination has to be kept in mind continually. This means that the real work is done by the organization represented on the council and not by the council itself. Real results are obtained by the member organizations, not at the council meeting but as a result of the meeting. The council is a medium for the discovery of needs and conditions in the community and for planning to meet these needs. The real work has to be done by the agencies and organizations after the plans have been made. It is for this reason that most councils do not seek publicity for themselves but for the agency that actually does the job.

The council is a means to an end. It is not an end in itself.

8. *Focus attention on children's needs.* Still another requisite to success in this work is the necessity of keeping the attention on the needs of the children and the community, and not on the needs of the agencies. The community chest and the council of social agencies exist to see that the agencies are financed and that problems involving the agencies are ironed out. The local coördinating council is interested in its own neighborhood, particularly the welfare of the children. The chests and councils of social agencies are concerned with budgets, campaigns, buildings,

equipment, personnel, salaries, policies, functions, techniques, methods, and the like, while the local coordinating councils are concerned about doing something to meet the needs of this group of boys, these out-of-school and out-of-work young people, and these parents who are neglecting their children. The council turns to the agency in making its plans, and the agency discovers that the council by pointing out areas and groups needing its service can make its efforts far more effective than they were ever before.

V. Trends

From the study that has been made thus far there are indications of certain trends or tendencies. These will be listed briefly without amplification in the hope that out of the conference at Atlantic City evidence may be provided either to confirm or to discredit the apparent drift in the directions indicated

1. *Objectives.* From delinquency prevention as an announced objective a change has come toward emphasizing work in the interest of all children or making the community a more wholesome place in which to live.

2. *Programs.* From the study of individual cases a number of councils have been led to study the causes back of these personal problems, community conditions in general, and environment for children both in the home and in the community. The referral of cases is not discontinued but is made part of a broader program.

Councils starting out to improve the community environment frequently add a committee on the adjustment of the problems of individual children.

- 3 *In size of district.* Some of the councils organized more recently are selecting smaller geographical units than the councils organized several years ago. The councils in the small neighbor-

hoods seem to get closer to their problems and to be more effective than the councils attempting to cover large districts. Some of the more recent councils in large cities are fixing boundaries which include only a few thousand people, while some of the older councils attempt to cover an area of over 100,000 population. Among the most effective councils are those in communities ranging from 2,000 (or less) to 15,000 people.

4. *In number of field workers.* There is a steady increase in the number of field secretaries appointed for the sole purpose of assisting these community organizations. From present indications a considerable number will be added to this group in 1936.

5. *County organizations.* Four counties now have organizations with council membership to promote this type of work: Los Angeles County, California, Washtenaw County, Michigan, Morris County, New Jersey, and King County, Washington

6. *State organizations.* Four States have organizations to promote or to assist coördinating councils. These are California, Utah, Ohio, and New Hampshire. State departments of public welfare in Washington and Pennsylvania have assisted in giving out information regarding this movement.

7. *Use of Federal projects.* Many councils are making use of the Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration projects. If these projects continue another year it is probable that many more councils will take advantage of the opportunity to use unemployed men and women in making community studies and in helping their local work in a variety of ways.

8. *Number of councils organized.* The number of new councils organized each year seems to be increasing. Prior to and during 1934 there were less than one hundred of these councils organized. During 1935 fifty-five or more new groups were formed. From present indications a greater number will be organized during 1936 than during 1935.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

1. *Significance of the movement.* The rapid development of this movement without any national promotion plan, the enthusiasm of the groups in city after city, and the results obtained in comparatively few years, each group for the most part working out its own salvation with little help from outside, make us wonder if we are not witnessing the beginning of one of the most significant movements of our time. During this period of uncertainty, of economic depression, of loss of morale, of national concern about delinquency and crime, at a time when family life is said to be disintegrating and the youth of the land is referred to as the "lost generation"—during such a period as this we are surprised to find groups of people who seem to know where they are going, who have found ways of improving their communities and their home life, who are not discouraged but are enthusiastic beyond the belief of one who has not witnessed it, and who are definitely assisting youth to find its place.

2. *Need of national assistance.* We are led to wonder what the developments will be during the next few years. In view of the rapid increase in the number of these councils we may well ask what the strength of this movement will be five or ten years from now. But suppose these councils, scattered all over the country, instead of working alone, were related to the others in some way. Suppose a medium of communication were developed by which they knew of successful plans carried out in other communities. It is not difficult to imagine how much more effective their work would be. Suppose also that a national group was continuously studying these new developments, appraising, advising, and assisting by publications, visitations, and conferences. We can begin to see possibilities that dwarf the present accomplishments into insignificance.

The theory on which this coordinated community work is based has received ample endorsement from national authorities

but no national assistance in practical plans or programs until the National Probation Association stepped into the field and conducted this survey. One of our first conclusions is that in some way such surveys and other assistance must be provided from this time on.

The existing councils are in most cases capable of much better work than they are now doing and could produce better results if they had some advice and assistance from time to time and if they could exchange experiences with other councils through a central body. They are now faced with the question of how broad a program they should undertake. There is a definite tendency to go far beyond the program on which many of them started out. It will require wise planning of the best minds of the country to decide just how broad a field they can cover efficiently. The coördinating councils provide experience in coöperation and community planning that can be used in solving many problems hitherto considered too difficult for any one organization to attack. However, the local council leaders are frequently puzzled about just how they can best use their energy and which problems come within their scope.

A SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY PROGRAM THAT PROMOTES THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

W EVIN HUFFMAN

Superintendent of Schools, Alexandria, Ohio

Soon after having located in the village of Alexandria, Ohio, the writer was approached by some business men of the village who expressed a desire for some connection between Main Street and Academy Avenue. By a series of strange circumstances, the new superintendent of schools became first a member of the village council, and a year later the Honorable Mayor of the Village of Alexandria. Alexandria is a village with a population of four hundred and fifty-five, and situated in almost the exact geographical center of Ohio. The school, with an enrollment of three hundred and sixty pupils, serves a rural population. Two thirds of the pupils are from farm homes. It was while serving in this dual capacity of mayor and superintendent that a centennial celebration in the village afforded the opportunity to project the school to every individual of the community.

Following the centennial celebration a community council that is pioneering in a rather unusual program of community development was organized. While it is not to be recommended that any schoolman should seek this particular kind of social contact, it is true that some very vital interest in community welfare, outside of the institutional school, is essential to the success of every educator. It is an axiom that in the traditional school pupils are reciting lessons written by some far-removed textbook writer. How far we have wandered from Garfield's ideal school, "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log, and a pupil on the other . . ." Textbook instruction alone cannot fulfill the obligation of any school to its community. Community needs are best learned outside the

school walls. Many and varied contacts, therefore, should be made to learn these needs and to provide for the harmonious execution of some plan to fulfill adequately the specific requirements of each individual community.

Opportunity to learn the community needs came to the superintendent of the Alexandria schools in a rather unusual manner. A member of the village council related in a council meeting the story of his vain search with the DeVilbis family for the graves of Alexander DeVilbis and his wife. The graves of the founders of the village had been desecrated. The council sought to alleviate the chagrin that this occasioned. The following year, they remembered, would be the one hundredth anniversary of the plotting of the village. The mayor was authorized to head a committee of five citizens to prepare for a centennial celebration. As a part of this celebration a monument honoring the founders was unveiled. The preparations for this event became virtually a community summer school. The necessity for carefully planned organization became evident. The power of coöperation in the promoting of a common good came to be generally recognized. Harmony was maintained. Oil for troubled waters was found to be an absolute necessity. A generous supply of the former was kept ready for every emergency. The joy that may be found in hard work, constancy, and perseverance claimed a place in the learning program. Such extracurricular subjects, shall we call them, as English, history, drama, accountancy, business management, art, and music, all became a part of the community school. No age limits were recognized. The executive committee's first move was to widen gradually the horizon of interest in the celebration until every man, woman, and child became actively enlisted in some part of the coming event. A brief printed statement of centennial plans was left at every home in the community by the superintendent of schools as he took the annual enumeration of pupils. An extensive advertising campaign fol-

lowed. The committee of five then decided on eighteen activities for the celebration. Leaders were selected to head as many committees. Each committee chairman was responsible for his activity and met regularly twice a month throughout the summer with the executive committee to coordinate the whole program. Everything planned was to be produced locally and was to be educational or historical in its nature. No concessions were sold to vendors or entertainers. The idea of individual profit was eliminated from every project. All necessary expenses were met generously. A public-address system for amplifying sound for all stage performances was rented at a cost of one hundred dollars. This was drought year and depression times, yet money, time, and contributions of various kinds came liberally from every one. A substantial surplus remained at the conclusion of the celebration. These funds were set aside to be used as needed in the preparation of a history of the community. The book is now ready for publication.

Space will not permit telling in any detail of the historic parade. State and county newspapers featured this in pictures and stories. The historic pageant, of local authorship, required several hundred characters. This was a very unusual undertaking for a community of some twelve or thirteen hundred people. It was produced out of doors with elaborate setting and a brilliant display of costumes. One thousand and one entries were made in furnishing an antique house. There was a church homecoming day on Sunday. Governor's day was on Monday. The concluding event was a street dance. The momentum gained by the triumphs of this celebration was used to advantage in organizing for the purpose of pioneering for the future welfare of the community.

A small group was again called together. Browning's statement, "I can face the future, now that I have proved the past," seemed to fit exactly the spirit of this group. A survey of community needs was made and community planning was begun.

The aim was to promote again in a coöperative way the general welfare of the community. A permanent organization was effected and a constitution was adopted.

After a number of projects had been listed as needs of the community, every agency available was used to help us to accomplish our purposes. The rural sociology department of Ohio State University has worked with the council continuously from its inception. Other departments, too, have given valuable assistance. The department of adult education has worked with us. Progressive-education agencies have helped materially. The Licking County farm agent and the county home demonstrator are both present at practically all council meetings. The following are a few of the dozen or more projects selected for consideration the first year of the council's history: uniting of churches, rural electrification, a beautification program, adult education, recreation facilities, better school conditions. It was planned that one of these be selected each year as a major project for that particular year.

The head of the Federated Churches of Ohio was called to meet with the council. Both of the churches have a hard struggle to maintain separate organizations. Union would be the logical solution to this very difficult problem. While it may be ideal it is not practical now; therefore, the council has used its offices to help promote harmonious coördination of religious influences. A fruitful evening was spent with the problem of rural electrification. Electric current is very rapidly finding its way to many farm homes. A long-time beautification project and an adult-education program have been our first-magnitude projects thus far.

With the school, churches, and a small park centrally located, the interests of the community in the beautification program were first directed to these places of common interest. The most central spot of this land was a triangle bounded on two sides by

a roadway leading to the cemetery and by a street leading to the school buildings, and on the third side by the backstops of two tennis courts located on the school grounds. This spot was unsightly. It was suggested to the graduating class that they erect a permanent flower bed here as a class memorial. The beautification program was thus begun. This plot is now a beauty spot that is the pride of the community and attracts many visitors. As a sequel to this move, individuals copied the plan. There are now three other such plots in the community similarly constructed. The landscape architect of Ohio State University was called upon to assist in a long-time planting program to beautify further the commons. Trees and shrubs are being secured as rapidly as possible to carry out the plans suggested by the architect and adopted by the council. The council encourages beautification generally in the community by commending the efforts of all who have cooperated toward this end. At the last meeting of the year the secretary of the organization is directed to write each individual deserving of special comment the thanks and appreciation of the council for his part in community beautification. *The beautification program is now far-reaching*

This community was one of the first in Licking County to organize Federal emergency classes in adult education. Adult classes in agriculture had been organized each winter for a number of years before the advent of the Federal program. A mothers' club and a parent-teacher association had likewise been active. Additional adult classes were organized in the autumn of 1934 in art, English, shorthand and typing, accountancy, orchestra, chorus, physical education including first aid, and home economics. One hundred and eighty-six men and women were enrolled in these classes, which met regularly once each week for a two-hour period in the high-school building. The home-economics class met in the afternoon. All other classes met in the evening. The building was open every evening of the week ex-

cept Wednesday. Wednesday evening was reserved for church programs. Well-qualified teachers were secured for these classes. The results obtained far exceeded expectations. Talent in music, art, literature, and dramatics was discovered. Business benefited by the commercial courses. The chief benefit, however, was that it popularized the projecting of the learning process beyond the traditional formal school years. Since this adult educational movement, the school library has been completely reorganized and placed under the control of a board of trustees appointed by the board of education. This was done to make county funds available to us for the purchase of additional books. The library became a community library. Twelve hundred dollars worth of books, more than could otherwise have been secured, were added within a year. A branch of this library has been moved to a downtown room. Personal services for this branch library are contributed at no cost to the board of trustees. Mimeographed lists of all books are distributed or made available to any one in the community.

Emergencies and special problems are met in the same co-operative way. Two typical programs will serve to illustrate how special occasions may be used to stimulate a democratic spirit, and incidentally to promote the universal education program that is ever in the background of the minds of the promoters.

What community does not have its Halloween annoyances or griefs? Two years ago we set about to substitute something for the rowdiness. A play day was planned by the council as a gesture to the young people of the willingness of the adults to join with them in anything that was sportsmanlike in the celebration of Halloween. A play day, the date by not too much of an accident, was fixed for October thirty-first. Much time was spent in preparation for this event. Every conceivable device within our reach was used to promote the spirit of play in all—from tiny child to oldest adult. Tournaments were scheduled in tennis,

volleyball, out-of-doors basketball, tenniquoit, horseshoe, box-hockey, and shuffleboard. The preparation for many of these games left equipment for permanent use. There were many track events and fun-provoking novelty stunts. At ten o'clock a parade of many floats depicted sports and recreation facilities. A section was devoted to children with pets and to young people with their club products. No commercial features were introduced in the parade. At two o'clock the formal dedication of the new football field and a flag raising were observed. Much interest centered on this event. The construction of the field had been a community-council project. The grading, which had involved the moving of some six thousand cubic yards of earth, had cost several hundred dollars. Much in addition to this had been contributed from many sources. After the dedication, the high-school football team met the team of a rival school in a game. The celebration was concluded in the evening by a costume street parade and a dance. There were square dances and ballroom dances, fun and frolic for every one. Midnight came, every one was tired but happy. All desire for pranks and destruction had been removed.

Five years had elapsed since the centennial celebration. A *dramatics festival, to continue three days—Saturday, Sunday, and to be concluded on Monday, Labor Day—*was planned for one year. Committee ramifications reached out to farthest corners as of former years. Thirteen separate dramatic performances were planned. No person of the community was permitted to be in more than one event or to serve on more than one committee. Something must be found for every one to do, so far as it was possible to do so. There were five neighborhood one-act plays. A suitable play was chosen. Then coaches and actors were to be selected from a designated area to produce it. Barns, garages, and homes became practice places. One three-act drama was presented. A religious pageant was given on Sunday. Gilbert

and Sullivan's operetta, *Trial by Jury*, was the concluding number. The operetta was repeated at University Hall, Ohio State University, at the request of university authorities, as a part of the program of a national convention of rural sociologists that was sponsored by the university. Two programs of puppet shows were produced continuously Saturday and Monday. These plays, one of them "The Arkansas Traveler,"² were written by a farmer of the community. He likewise constructed the stage, and made or directed the making of the puppets and stage scenery. Harmony and coöperation marked this three-day celebration. Again much new talent in the community was discovered.

This article is most humbly presented. There can certainly be no reason on the part of any one here to exploit this modest rural community. The council only claims to do the thing that can be done by any community where individuals are willing to "dwell together in unity." There is an *important place* for every individual in a community program. Ten-talent individuals will furnish leadership; but *no person should be left out*. To be happy in a democracy, individuals must be enlightened and coöperative. These are lifetime processes. Our schools need to be projected into adult life. Contest and competition must give way to coöperation. It is the writer's experience that the Alexandria community is happy in the exercise of the spirit of democracy.

² Robert Price, "The Arkansas Traveler Returns," *The Country Gentleman*, June 1936, p. 47.

A COMMUNITY EXPERIMENT IN THE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY¹

HENRY W. WALTZ, JR.

Chicago Probation Project

Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

The United States Children's Bureau and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago have been cooperating with local agencies for the past several years in an experimental juvenile-probation project conducted in an area approximately a mile square, southeast of the stockyards in Chicago.

Using psychiatric, medical, case-work, and community-organization services, the project began by accepting for study and treatment children referred to it as delinquent, in danger of becoming delinquent, or as problems by the juvenile court, schools, police, and parents.

A year's case work revealed many factors that seemed to contribute directly to the maladjustment of these children. Foremost among the factors was lack of understanding and coöperation among such community agencies as schools, police, churches, juvenile courts, and social-service organizations. Some of these agencies had little regard for the work of the others, and each tended to withdraw to its own program, in which it had more confidence. Plans that one agency made for the treatment of a child were often frustrated by lack of coöperation from the other agencies.

Each agency considered that its primary responsibility to the community was in developing its own program and a technique

¹ By special permission of the Delinquency Unit of the Children's Bureau, the National Probation Association, and National Conference of Social Work.

to handle its case loads. Harassed as each was by its own problems of case loads, finances, organization, and changing regulations, each agency felt unable to assume special responsibility for the delinquency problems of the community. For the same reason it failed to interpret its task to the community, and consequently the community failed to understand or to support the agency and often showed active antagonism. Furthermore, to give special consideration to delinquent children when community resources were so few often appeared to the community as reward for misconduct. This lack of understanding and support discouraged the agency and caused it to depend more than ever upon its own techniques, so that there was further frustration of plans for the so-called difficult children, who were shuttled between different agencies and finally "left out in the cold."

In addition to the need for cooperation among agencies, there was a need for more group work. This was revealed by individual studies of children and by the fact that playgrounds were empty, while swarms of children played on the streets, alleys, vacant lots, and dump piles, throwing rocks at lamp posts and at passenger trains, stealing waste and coal from the railroad tracks, building shacks or breaking into vacant buildings for club-room purposes, and at the same time responding eagerly to any overtures toward supervised play.

Other factors bearing on delinquency, such as economic insecurity and inadequate homes, are too numerous to mention in this paper.

In trying to deal with the situation the project worked in two ways: first, continuing case work with individual children, and, second, developing or stimulating the community to develop more adequate resources not only for problem children but for the community as a whole and to improve the working relations among existing agencies. This paper deals only with the second phase of the project.

Few attempts were made to develop services directly. Occasionally the project experimented to meet an apparent need that no agency seemed ready to handle. If the experiment succeeded or if the need became apparent to an agency that was willing to take over the experiment, it was relinquished to that agency.

A day nursery in a neighborhood more than half a mile from a playground wanted to enlarge its program. The project organized some of the children of the neighborhood into teams or clubs and encouraged the nursery to hire workers to supervise their play. The nursery gradually grew into a recreation center and later into a social settlement with a qualified resident director who now takes a leading part in the development of recreation and group work for the community.

The project began to keep a card file of all children participating in recreation under the supervision of different agencies and a file of children who were arrested by the police. When it was found that the two files overlapped very little, the project started activities to appeal to the children who had been arrested, using basements, attics, and vacant stores as meeting places, and adding supplementary programs in established centers. These activities were later turned over to individual agencies or to the community recreation committee.

For the most part the task of developing community resources was approached indirectly, as a probation officer might approach it. The probation officer would probably not build up resources but would point out needs to those who might be in a position to meet them. He would expect the established agencies already at work to take responsibility for developments in their own fields.

As a beginning, the project called together representatives of several agencies and presented to them specific problems on which each had been working but which none had been able to solve alone.

To meet the need for more recreation or group work, leaders

who were known to be interested in recreation were called together to discuss the problem. They started a baseball league, which played on vacant lots. Out of this grew a recreation committee, which steadily widened the scope of its activities to include an increasing number of agency directors and more than thirty activities, in which more than three thousand persons participated under trained supervision in eleven centers. The program recently added a training course to be conducted twice a week for sixty WPA recreation workers and for other agency workers who wished to participate. Represented on the recreation committee that planned and directed the work were three Catholic churches, a Methodist church, a Lutheran church, a public school, a parochial school, a public park, a public playground, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, a private settlement, a Catholic day nursery, a case-work agency, a local merchant, and a parent-teacher association.

Because of the deep-seated prejudice many of these agencies had for one another, it took several years to get them to work together as they now do. At first only two agencies were interested, then four. Others came in for a specific activity and then dropped out. If one institution became too aggressively identified with a certain program, others stayed out of it. But understanding grew gradually and naturally through repeated participation in projects in which each agency was interested but in which no sectarian or partisan group played a dominating role.

Two months ago this recreation committee evaluated the results of its coöperative endeavors as follows:

1. Agencies gained an insight into the work of other agencies.
2. All agencies realized the possibilities of recreation.
3. Attention of each agency has been turned toward a well-rounded program for the area as a whole rather than limited to its own activities.
4. More effective community action was made possible

through the sharing and pooling of facilities (for example a newspaper was made possible by the printing outfit of one agency, the paper of another, the distribution services of another, and the combined editorial and reporting service of all).

5. A higher standard of recreation has been developed throughout the area.

6. The door was opened to discussion of other community problems which lead to cooperation with increasing numbers of agencies.

7. Adults began to participate and lay leaders began to take interest and responsibility in a community-welfare program.

In raising money for common needs, the committee's activities progressed from card parties with prizes to a drama night when agencies that were formerly antagonistic cooperated in putting on one-act plays. No prizes were given for the plays; no one asked which was the best, but all shared alike in a common undertaking, with common feelings of satisfaction.

In distributing a community allocation of \$1,000, representatives from all agencies met together, discussed neighborhood needs, available facilities, and the distribution of the funds to individual agencies in a position to meet community needs. The budget was submitted, approved, and the money spent according to the budget and to the satisfaction of all concerned. Formerly each agency had submitted its own budget independently and had naturally competed with other agencies to make the most favorable impression on the disbursing authority.

In the same way that the cooperative efforts of agencies and interested citizens to develop recreational facilities led to the formation of a recreation committee, so the attempts to cooperate on other community problems led to the formation of a community council. In order to deal with the problems of delinquency a community case committee had been formed. Finding community problems that could not be solved by case conference, the

committee enlarged its personnel to include representatives of all service agencies in the community and interested citizens. The community council that was so created was elastic in form. Participation was open to any one who found in the council a way to accomplish measures for community betterment. Committees were formed or dropped as the need appeared or vanished. No committees were kept alive for policy's sake. Committees did not limit themselves rigidly to their own topics but held open season for any good idea. The best plans often originated in the wrong committees.

One committee has been trying to close up the loopholes in delinquency prevention. Through its work, agencies are told immediately when a boy is brought to the police station so that they may offer aid in adjusting the case and so that steps may be taken to enrich the life of the boy without his realizing a connection between his arrest and the better program. A fellowship student follows up each child under the care of each agency. He meets regularly with the working staff of the community group workers to present to them information on which to base plans for individual children.

Other committees have worked for more adequate relief, clothing, school supplies, gardens, the National Youth Administration, alley sanitation, repair of buildings, clearance of vacant lots, recreation, publicity, legislation, forums and adult education, and employment.

In preparation for a child-welfare conference on integrating the forces of the community to protect and care for children, a police captain, a Catholic priest, a probation officer, a merchant, a park director, a school principal, a public-relief superintendent, a private-charities superintendent, and an American Legion commander met together for several hours to plan a program showing conditions before and after their coöperative efforts. They reproduced at the conference their discussion on specific

problems, which had led to better understanding and specific action for neighborhood improvement.

In coöperative community planning such as this, group work is important. Although group work may not be considered as having the primary responsibility for the solution of delinquency problems, leaders of group work should be able by nature, training, and experience to appreciate and guide the processes of community integration and interagency coöperation that are essential to any delinquency-prevention program. In this project group work had not been developed enough to play an important part in the treatment of delinquency. Many of the causes of delinquency lay in such conditions as inadequate homes, unemployment, physical handicaps, emotional instability—factors that case workers had been striving earnestly to remedy. Group work, however, seemed to provide an anchor to which a child with a background of failure and frustration might cling for security and achievement during the devastating periods of his experience.

ORGANIZING AGAINST CRIME IN TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND SMALLER CITIES

ROWLAND C. SHELDON

Executive Secretary, Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, Inc.

Popular opinion today seems to be leaning toward the thought that crime prevention might better follow the technique developed in medical research for the prevention of disease—which surely has accomplished much in the control of smallpox, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and goiter. In such approach, first comes the isolation of the germ—the cause, then the combat, and the elimination of it.

Granted that we now know enough of the causes of crime—ineffectual parental control, physical abnormalities, emotional unbalance, deleterious environment, and all of the three hundred various subdivisions of these general causes; granted that we know enough of these, what then of the combat?

Where shall a beginning be made?

Certainly in the towns, villages, and smaller cities as well as in the greater centers. And equally certainly along two lines of attack, the individual and the environmental.

Discovering the potential delinquent is the first problem. We have evidence that he can be discovered in the public schools which have the unusual opportunity of being able to gather cumulative case histories, beginning at the age of five years—ten years before the time that the children's court can begin, on the average, to gather such data.

Every one who has worked in the juvenile courts wishes that he had been able to make an earlier start in the solution of the problems of the individual children arraigned for delinquency. From 1912 to 1925, as general secretary of the New York City Big Brother Movement, I was in daily attendance, or had a representative, at the sessions of the children's court, and increas-

ingly felt just what the Gluecks found in their study of delinquent boys in Boston:

When they, as children, first begin to show signs of maladjustment we customarily do little or nothing about it; we wait until they become juvenile delinquents before trying to understand the difficulties in the individual case and doing something appropriate to counteract them, and in many cases and places we do little that is constructive even when problem children have become official juvenile delinquents.

Yet investigation has shown that better ultimate results are to be expected in cases clinically examined and treated immediately after their misbehavior begins—than in those in which much time is allowed to elapse before clinical contact.

And yet, fifty professionally staffed Big Brother and Big Sister organizations in the United States and Canada report that, over a period of seven years, only 3.5 per cent of their annual intake was arraigned or rearraigned for delinquency after being accepted. The average ages were 32.7 per cent over sixteen; 59.8 per cent between ten and sixteen; 7.4 per cent under ten years of age.

The fault would seem to lie in the juvenile-court procedure rather than in a too late beginning.

Is it that the fault, being analyzed, is in the legalistic rather than the psychiatric approach to these problems of childhood? Is it possible for the surrogate or the probate or the county judge, sitting occasionally as juvenile court, to rid himself of legal technicalities and to think rather in terms of socio-therapeutics? Seventy-eight per cent of the population of the State of New Jersey comes under the jurisdiction of this makeshift arrangement. We might just as well consult a lawyer for a case of temper tantrums. It is small wonder that reformatories and prisons do not have better reputations for reformation. Much too late they receive their grist which has already been spoiled by mishandling.

Two things are very plainly needful: first, we must have a more efficient treatment of the problem of child behavior; second, we must discover the potential delinquent earlier.

As I approached the end of that 1912 to 1925 period of local case work, it was more and more clearly evident that some method, some technique must be developed for that discovery, and in 1926 I had the good fortune to find in Toledo a man who was director of the Juvenile Adjustment Bureau and at the same time referee of the Juvenile Court of that city, Herbert D. Williams, doctor of philosophy.

By the simple expedient of referring cases from himself as judge to himself as director of the clinic, Dr. Williams had been able to make a critical study of the cases of some two thousand delinquent children, listing all of the causative factors. (The results of these studies of delinquent children were published in 1932 in *Psychological Monographs*, vol. 43, no. 1).

Over three hundred different factors were in the list; some appearing rarely, some occasionally, but some so frequently as to be almost invariable. At the top of the list, we find "lack of parental supervision and discipline" and, equally, the concomitant "lawless companions," then in order, dullness, undesirable environmental influences, friction in the family, low moral standards in the family, companions not lawless but bad influence, instability, abnormal extroversion, educational and vocational defects, inferiority complex, abnormal physical condition, recreational defects, lack of ethical judgment and insight, abnormal suggestibility, abnormal resistance to control, defective sex interests, and so on.

But no one factor alone seemed to be the entire cause of delinquency. It was not parental neglect or inefficiency alone; not physical abnormalities alone; nor emotional unbalance alone; nor yet environment alone that was the cause—always a combination of any two, any three, or all four of the general causes

that were at the bottom of the delinquency. Dr. Williams at that time reported that "delinquency causations are unbelievably complex." If there were two thousand delinquent children, there seemed to be two thousand different combinations of reasons for their delinquency.

However, there were eighty-one items that were very frequently mentioned as causes, and it seemed possible to use these as a sort of yardstick with which to measure the conditions, traits, and factors existing in nondelinquent children that might cause them to become so.

In 1927, Dr. Williams was secured for the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation staff and in 1931, having been assigned to the Chicago office, made a study of problem children in the public schools of Peoria, Racine, and Decatur. He found that 2.6 per cent of school children in those three cities had been entered on the information blanks as "problem children." These information blanks contained the eighty-one most frequently occurring items of the original three hundred. The teachers had been instructed first to make a list of all those in their classes who seemed likely, in their opinion, to become delinquent, and the fact that, on the average, each teacher checked thirteen of the items composing the list indicates that the teacher did not list exclusively school problems. There were but eight items that indicated solely school maladjustments.

After listing the problem children, the teachers were instructed to check through the entire list for each child separately, before proceeding to do the same for the next.

In 1932, the study was extended to ten midwest cities and encompassed 55,955 public-school children, 2.4 per cent of whom were entered by the teachers as problems. There was a striking similarity between the 2.6 per cent of the three cities and the 2.4 per cent of the ten cities.

It was also noted that there was a constant ratio of four to one

between boys and girls; that there was little relationship between the size of the city and the percentage of problem children; that the problem children were concentrated in certain areas—some schools having none, while others in the same city had as high as ten or twelve per cent.

It was noted also that problem children of all ages were found, from five years up to the maximum, but concentrated between ten and fifteen; two thirds of all were in this age group, with the peak at thirteen years.

This was vastly important, for the peak age of 92 juvenile courts in the United States has been, up to the latest report available, at fifteen years—two years later. It would seem to indicate that this study was capable of discovering predelinquent children two years before they discovered the juvenile court. Problem children were discovered in all the grades, including the kindergarten, with the fourth and the fifth leading. They were found in all degrees of intelligence, from feeble-minded to near genius, but with the peak falling between 80 and 90 I.Q. instead of between 90 and 100. A total of twenty-seven nationalities furnished these problem children in the ten midwest cities.

Heading the list of topics is social maladjustment, being mentioned for 97 per cent of the problem children, then school maladjustments for 83 per cent, defective home conditions for 77 per cent, and physical abnormalities recognized as being present in the cases of 46 per cent.

We found that there seems to be a more or less definite pattern for the problem child and that it is almost identical with that of the delinquent child in every point except that of age. The problem child is two years younger, on the average, than the delinquent, and the implication seemed to be that the first would eventually become the second and later, possibly, incorrigible, and then the adult criminal if something is not done to prevent it.

But we wanted to test the theory further, and in 1933 the study

was extended to twenty-six towns of New York State and encompassed another 26,000 children, making the total now studied approximately 100,000 children. The data of the New York State 1933 study were interpreted by Dr. Ethel I. Cornell, research associate of the New York State Education Department.

Here we found that 2.3 per cent of the school children had been named as problems—continuing the run of 2.6 per cent in the first three-city study and the 2.4 per cent of the ten midwest cities.

The ratio between boys and girls is again four to one. Again there is little relationship between the size of the city or town and the percentage of problem children. Again there are found problem children in all the grades, from the kindergarten up, and the greatest number in the fourth grade. The intelligence-range is verified, with 66 per cent with an I.Q. less than 90, and including the feeble-minded and the superior as well. But in this 1933 study, the effect of the depression is shown, with the peak age at 16 years and 10 years the age of second highest frequency. Quite possibly the problem children who were formerly absorbed by industry are now retained in school and are increasingly restless. Again we find a considerable number of nationalities represented—sixteen.

Other points of similarity are

	<i>Per Cent</i>	
	<i>10 Midwest</i>	<i>26 New York State</i>
School maladjustments	83	84
Undesirable personality traits	84	78
Physical abnormalities	46	55
Bad companions	29	22
Defective home conditions	77	60 or more

Further studies were made in New Jersey in 1934 encompassing 75,855 children in six cities, and also in the entire State of

New Hampshire, but the figures are not yet available in any comparable form.

However, the studies in the midwest and in New York State very clearly indicate that there is a definite pattern for the problem child, which is very similar to that of the delinquent as shown by the Gluecks in their studies of delinquent boys in Boston.

Whether or not it is an accurate prediction cannot be determined before the end of ten years of continued study. But one thing is clearly evident now. the study does discover children who are facing conditions at home and in the neighborhood that have caused delinquency in other children—children who have undesirable personality traits and children who are physically handicapped and who stand in need of personal, individual, and intensive help to remove some of their handicaps and to assist them in developing well-rounded personalities.

The average public school is now making some sort of effort to solve the maladjustments of school children individually by the employment of the attendance officer, nurse, school visitor, visiting teacher, and, occasionally, the psychometrist. In the group, the teacher of the "opportunity class," "special class," or any other such class seeks to make an adjustment *after* the child has already demonstrated unfitness in one or more lines.

Generally, however, these specialists do not harmonize or integrate or coördinate their efforts. Does the visiting teacher pass along to the teacher of the "ungraded class" the information she gathers and her impressions regarding the home life and influences? Does the nurse tell the psychologist of influences that might affect the test of intelligence? Does the grade teacher communicate to the parents, through the visiting teacher, the successes as well as the failures of a child?

In most "case-work" social agencies, case consultations are the order of the day, in the industrial field, consultation by the technicians is the usual thing—as are salestalks in the mercantile.

Every one else seems to realize the necessity of viewing a problem from all of its many angles—except the school people.

I would suggest that in every school system there be an intramural school cabinet, to be appointed by the superintendent or supervising principal and consisting of attendance officer, school visitor, visiting teacher, psychometrist, teacher of special grade (or ungraded class), recreationalist, nurse, director of adult education, with the superintendent as chairman, to the sessions of which should be invited (for at least a monthly visit) the itinerant psychologist or psychiatrist of the State department of mental hygiene or nearby institution.

Such problem (or exceptional) children as are discovered through a deliberate study of problem children or as are referred by teachers should be more thoroughly studied by the cabinet on the basis of the most complete factual data regarding prenatal, natal, and postnatal health, parental antecedents, parental inadequacy, whether failure, neglect, cruelty, abuse, immorality, criminality, intoxication, quarreling, or incompatibility. Such things in the financial situation of the parents as unemployment, insufficient income, illegal employment, indebtedness, and unemployability all have a bearing on the child's attitude and conduct, as well as do overcrowding in the home, poor meals, improper diet, uncleanness, poor sleeping arrangements, and religious conflict. More serious are homes broken by death, desertion, or separation. The institutionalization of a member of the family has its effect, as well as general neighborhood immorality, quarrelsomeness, poor housing, and lack of recreational facilities.

All these data must be secured before there can be a complete study of the individual child—and this will involve consideration of his physical handicaps, awkwardness, appearance, and his emotional makeup.

Now, after all the material for study is in hand, come the suc-

cessively more difficult steps—the diagnosis of causes, the formulating of a program of school adjustments, and the carrying out of such a program in its entirety.

However, in those communities where our suggestion of the intramural school cabinet has been adopted, the favorable reports of accomplishment are very encouraging and indicate that problem children in the elementary grade are comparatively easily adjusted. The recognition of just what the problems are being more than half the solution, the teacher realizes that frequently the problem child is more accurately a child with a problem too great for his own correct solution.

There is, of course, a limit to what the school people can accomplish in the home, with the parents, and in the community. Therefore, to supplement the cabinet, we recommend a town (or village) council, to be composed of the mayor, or other representative of the municipality, representative of the board of education, superintendent of schools (or supervising principal), the chief of police, the judge of the juvenile court (or a probation officer), representatives of the men's service clubs, representatives of the women's clubs, a physician in general practice, specialist in eye, ear, nose, and throat, representatives of the religious groups, representatives of the parent-teacher association, a dentist, a lawyer, representative of local or county case-work agency, representatives of "character-building" or recreational groups.

It will be seen that this suggested set-up is the Los Angeles Coördinating Council scaled down to the possibilities and opportunities of a town, village, or smaller city where there are no organizations to coördinate. Individuals must be found to represent the various interests and programs that would, in a large city or county, form a "coördinating council."

We have found very little or no organization, in the smaller communities, of the powers for good against the power and influ-

ence for bad. Again there is the same lack of integration that exists in the school systems. On the other hand, this is the day of organized crime.

The objectives of the town council should not be punitive—it is not a question of bigger and better jails, nor better court procedures, nor even of better methods of catching criminals after the act. True delinquency prevention should remove the causes in the community as well as in the individual. Political intrigue with crime, unfit public officials, industrial unfairness and exploitation, lack of decent, sanitary housing, lack of recreational opportunities in delinquency zones, and insufficient clinical service are some of the things, condoned by communities, which eventually are very costly in lowered realty values, increased insurance costs, and increased institutional costs. An alert, virile, fearless town council, unofficial in its composition, is the conscience of a community.

In some places, the mayor has appointed the members, in others the superintendent of schools, or else an independent community leader. Everywhere, the membership is made up of the best, the most unselfish, the most socially minded in the community.

Eventually, both the intramural school cabinet and the town council get down to individuals and the individualization of problems, whether it be the individual delinquent, the individual problem child, or the individual problem parent.

The last is the most difficult. My experience in the past twenty-five years, however, leads to the conclusion that the problem parent is the parent with a problem that he does not know how to solve and, properly approached, he is glad to receive help. He is like the person with a boil on the back of his neck. He is too irritated to give it calm and patient treatment and his point of view is not at all satisfactory.

One of the most valuable committees of the town council is

made up of "successful parents" who can and will assist the unsuccessful in the solution of their problems, not so much by preachment as by example. Teachers get their training partly by observation of successful, experienced teachers; plumbers learn by imitation; and so do doctors and lawyers and candlestick makers—everybody, except parents. It can be done; it has been done successfully by Big Brothers and Big Sisters for the past thirty-two years and quite possibly for several hundred years before that. You are what you are today—because your parents had the benefit of their good parents' good example. But what of the children who have no good example and what of their children who will have no good example to follow?

The angle between right and wrong grows wider as time goes on and as generations increase, and it is increasingly difficult to reach from one side to the other. The child at the point of the angle now can be reached and guided—but his children, and his grandchildren, if the present opportunity is neglected, will be more and more difficult—even prisons then will not serve; and after prisons fail—what?

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY, SOCIAL-PLANNING STUDIES

Community studies growing directly out of a plan of social action have been undertaken in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in what is called "the Elizabeth plan for a community-wide attack on social ills." On March 6, 1936, the Elizabeth Council of Social Agencies through its Executive Committee organized for a community-wide attack on the social ills of that community. A community-plan survey previously proposed by the Executive Luncheon Group and a youth census were begun. A plan of action unique in some respects was agreed upon and called "The Elizabeth Plan."

I. Central Planning Board

The Elizabeth Plan provided for the creation of a Central Planning Board composed of seventy citizens representing public or private organizations working in the social-welfare field. These are divided into seven specialized sections, covering the fields of child welfare, character and recreation, delinquency prevention, education, family welfare, health, and housing. This Board's functions are

First, to review available fact-finding studies and to make such studies in the fields of sociological, pathological, and economic problems and welfare conditions, and to inventory the facilities available for meeting these problems or alleviating adverse conditions.

Second, to correlate these facts and findings and to divide pertinent portions of the information between local areas (if possible, sociologically and economically homogeneous) and to place this data in the hands of responsible persons who compose the twelve community coordinating round tables described below.

Third, to attempt to set up a practical long-range community plan

for the amelioration and prevention of those social conditions which are a menace to present individual welfare and those which tend to increase the future number of dependents and interfere with the progress and best interests of others who may be in no danger of becoming dependent.

II. Community-Coordinating Round Tables

The Elizabeth Plan further contemplates the complete establishment of twelve community-coordinating round tables made up of responsible and interested local citizens who live or are occupied in the respective districts bounded by the old ward lines, used in the 1930 Federal Census.

These round tables may consist of a school principal, a clergyman, the heads of local civic or welfare groups, parent-teacher associations, youth organizations, and law-enforcement groups who are interested in co-operating to remedy adverse local conditions. These round tables are the action centers not alone for cure and prevention but for formulating constructive plans and projects to benefit the local community.

These round tables will meet when necessary, report their actions and findings to the Central Planning Board, and call upon it for assistance in solving local problems. Such will be referred to that section to which the problem relates. They may call upon the entire Central Planning Board for assistance in obtaining political action or in creating public opinion when such are for the best interests of all concerned.

RESEARCH SUMMER INSTITUTE

The Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research was held at the University of Chicago on Friday and Saturday, August 21 and 22. The major papers were organized around the central theme of "Freedom and the Modern World." The program included the following papers: (1) "News and Other Instruments for Manipulating Public Opinion," Dr. Robert E. Park; (2) "Possibilities and Limitations of Social Planning in a Democracy," Dr. Frank Knight, (3) "Taxation as an Instrument of Social Control," Dr. Clarence Heer; (4) "Localism, Regionalism, and Centralization," Dr. Louis Wirth, (5) "The Place of Sociological Research in Relation to Social Action in a Democracy." In addition to these papers there were a series of research reports and round tables.

BOOK REVIEWS

Preventing Crime, A Symposium, edited by SHELDON GLUECK AND ELEANOR GLUECK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936, 509 pages.

The editors introduce this volume with the statement "The policy of controlling fires by merely putting out the flames and sitting back to await more fires is rapidly being abandoned as shortsighted and wasteful. . . . In relation to the control of delinquency and crime, however, society has not progressed much beyond the stage of putting out the flames. It has waited for violations of law and then bent its efforts to pursuing, arresting, prosecuting, and punishing offenders without giving much thought to the elimination of the forces that produced them and continue to produce thousands like them."

Succeeding chapters discuss outstanding efforts, in various parts of the country, to attack delinquency and crime at its roots through preventative programs, coordinated community programs, school programs, police programs, intramural (full-time) guidance programs, extramural (part-time) guidance programs, boys' clubs, and recreational programs. Outstanding illustrations of each type of program are concretely described and their implications discussed. The contributors are all practically concerned with crime prevention as well as authoritative in their fields.

No educator, recreational leader, criminologist, sociologist, psychologist, or student of civic affairs can afford to be without this book. To the intelligent layman it offers an understandable orientation to the community's fight against crime.

Organizations for Youth: Leisure Time and Character Building Procedures, by ELIZABETH PENDRY AND HUGH HARTSHORNE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935, 359 pages.

This volume presents, largely without evaluation, the programs of a variety of organizations which may be considered resources in building character for youth. It is an invaluable compendium to those interested in character education, citizenship, and the prevention of delinquency. Not only formal programs, but underlying philosophies and something of the *modus operandi* is in each case clearly presented.

Outline of Town and City Planning, by THOMAS ADAMS. New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1935, 368 pages.

A history of town and city planning, from ancient to modern times, with discussion of various philosophies underlying planning, methods of realizing the plan, and obstacles encountered. At a moment when we are talking increasingly of community coördination this is a particularly timely book. Students of urban problems are aware that social and physical planning must go hand in hand. Consequently this book provides an indispensable orientation to those concerned with community life.

A Decade of Progress in Eugenics, Scientific papers of the Third International Congress. Baltimore. Williams and Wilkins Company, 1934, 531 pages.

Community planning must concern itself not only with technology and the physical environment it creates, and with social organization, but also with the characteristics of human populations. This group of scientific papers, for the most part sober and cautious, with their warning that many of our problems are rooted in biology, may dampen the spirits of the more optimistic of the sociologically minded, but they should serve to hold those who will read them close to earth. The volume is a source book, not an organized presentation of eugenics.

Criminology, by ALBERT MORRIS. New York. Longmans, Green and Company. 551 pages.

This volume is designed by the author and publisher for use as a text. It is one of a series on social sciences. For this purpose it is admirably adapted and arranged. The book is concerned primarily with contemporary affairs and the practical application and consideration of crime as it presents itself in the present American scene. There is little consideration given to philosophical concepts and the accent is entirely upon the environmental approach. Especially well done are the sections on juvenile delinquency and such space as is devoted to childhood foundations of future criminals. Equally valuable is the concluding part of the text dealing critically with the treatment of criminals and the penal science of a possible tomorrow. The bibliography is a noteworthy feature.

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No. 2

EDITORIAL

As we evaluate our national resources in these times of stress, it becomes increasingly evident that the most precious of our resources lie not in fisheries, forests, oil fields, mines, the land, but in the more gifted elements of our human stock. Our great national need is for vision with straight thinking, combined with effective and responsible social leadership. These qualities are potential in our gifted children.

Yet, as a nation, we go our way, giving no thought to the conservation and social utilization of these children. The loss to our national life and culture has been inestimable. This issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is by way of a protest against allowing this loss to continue.

In planning this number, the editors were not so much interested in characterizing gifted and talented children (a task already ably performed by Terman and Hollingworth), as in calling attention to things that are being done in various parts of the country to help these children to become socially productive. Florence Cane discusses the problem of identifying and educating children talented in art. Hazel Stanton discusses the same problem with reference to musically talented children. Leta Hollingworth describes the new Speyer School experiment, initiated by the New York City Board of Education and Teachers College of Columbia University, in the education of intellectually gifted children. Florence Mateer, out of

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the accumulating experience of Merryheat School (Columbus, Ohio) in dealing with the problems of intellectually gifted children, discusses how they may be helped to more effective life adjustments. The editor of this issue, collaborating with Rhea K. Boardman, explains the purpose and procedure of the Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted of the New York University School of Education. It is with regret that the editors announce that due to Lewis Terman's illness, a report he was preparing on the progress of the Stanford University study of genius cannot be included. The article by Reznikoff and Glass, which is included in place of Terman's report, will prove, however, of great interest to readers of this issue.

It is peculiarly fitting that this material on gifted and talented children should appear in *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*, of which Dr. E. George Payne is editor, since it was due to his interest and vision as associate dean of New York University's School of Education that the Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted was established. By his continued interest in and support of its work, he has shown himself to be one of the few people in America with the vision to realize the importance of conserving the most precious of all our national resources, our *gifted children*.

H.W. Z.

THE GIFTED CHILD IN ART

FLORENCE CANE

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We discern the gifted child in art by various signs. But it is not sufficient to judge his ability by intuitive judgment. There are definite qualities in art deriving from the human organism and the individual's use of his powers that may be classified and used as a guide in deciding whether the child is gifted or not.

For years I only judged intuitively when people brought me their children and asked, "Is she talented?" But recently I was forced to reason and weigh and discover what were the elements involved in my decisions. The occasion for this clarification was a visit from Professor Harvey Zorbaugh of New York University. He is at the head of the Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted. The Clinic is a new institution, founded with this wise idea: to study children gifted in all fields, and to help and guide them while they are being observed and recorded, in order to preserve this finest material of the race to be the leaders of the future. Dr. Howard Potter is the able psychiatrist in charge of the psychiatric aspect. He has several field workers assisting him. Various specialists have been asked by Professor Zorbaugh to help in the judging and training of the different talents. He asked me on that memorable visit to take charge of the applicants gifted in art. I accepted. This promises to be a most valuable experience, both because of the unusual opportunity of studying and following up the cases which this association with the clinic affords, and because of the fine type of sensitive and gifted children it brings me to deal with.

When Professor Zorbaugh brings me a portfolio of work done by a child who has come to the clinic I must judge whether he shall have the opportunity to study art or not. I have worked out the following method to help me decide the question.

A METHOD OF JUDGING THE ART OF A CHILD

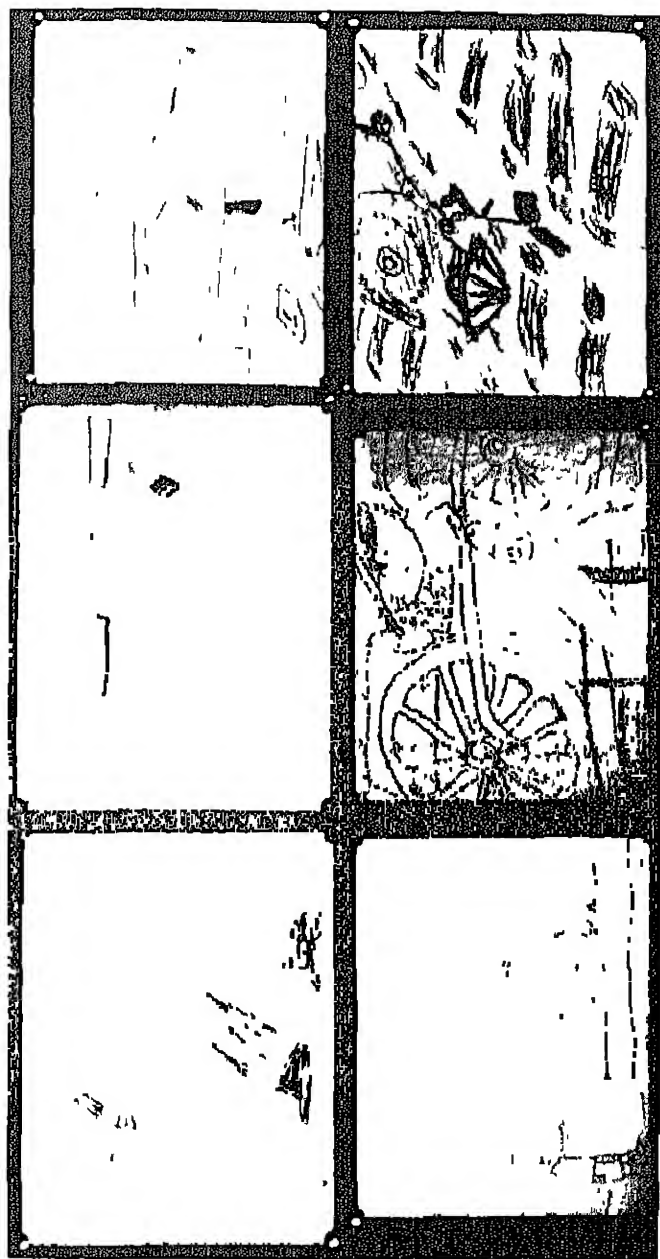
Looking over the art of a child in order to judge his ability, I have in mind four essential factors, and the degree of their development by which to measure his talent. The factors are:

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Mode of Expression</i>	<i>Variety of Forms</i>
1. Body	Movement	1. Quality of line 2. Rhythm 3. Balance 4. Observation
2. Psyche	Dynamics	1. Fertility of imagination 2. Quality of feeling 3. Intensity of life 4. Dynamics of dark and light 5. Use of color
3. Mind	Organization	1. Design 2. Form 3. Space 4. Relativity
4. Spirit	Emanation	1. Intended essence

I can judge whether he is using his body well by the strength of the rhythmic movement, the kind of line he uses, the kind of balance achieved, and the power of the senses noted through observation, texture, etc.

The second factor to be noted is the quality of feeling, the dynamics shown in the work. Is there a strong feeling of life, great intensity, awareness of quality, a functioning of the imagination in an original way? All these belong to the emotional or psychic content of the work. The use of color and the values of dark and light are expressive of this aspect.

The third factor involved is the power of the mind, which is indicated chiefly through the degree of design and organization in the work. Other elements which come under this heading, that I would



1. Newsboy

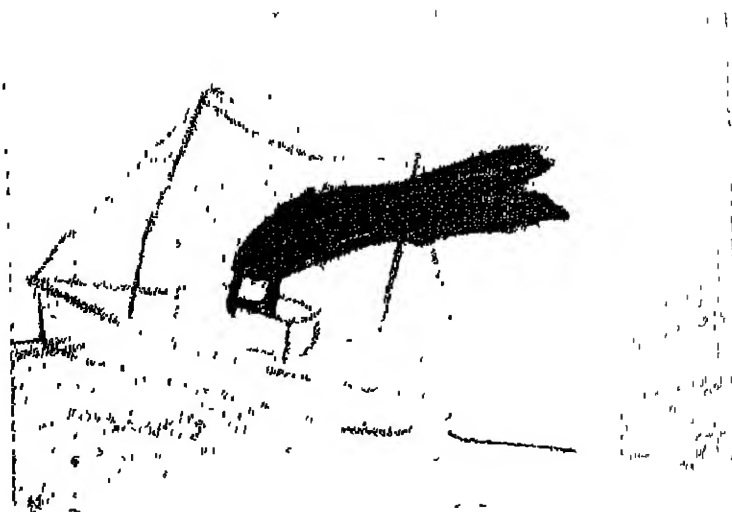
2. Dinner table

3. Painting table

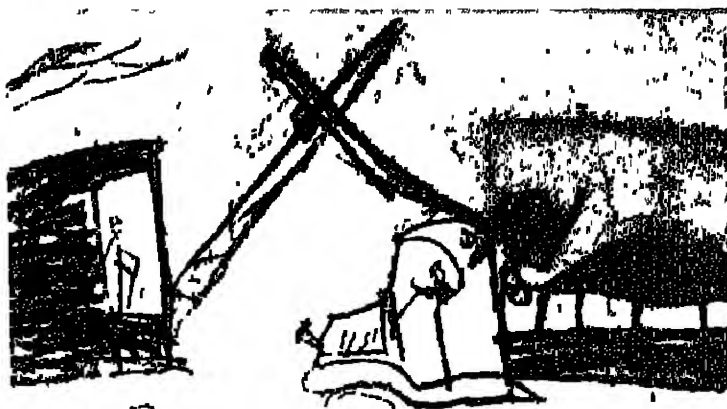
4. The zoo

5. Workman oiling engine

6. Engine coming down tracks



7. A ship at sea



8. The coal mine

observe, are the sense of form and space and balance; in other words, the relativity of everything in the picture.

The fourth and most vital factor in the judgment of the child's work is the spirit or emanation of the whole. If he is functioning well and simultaneously on the first three factors, it is very likely that the fourth will follow, because when the whole child functions, the spirit awakens.

The following is an illustration of this method applied to one case, John Samios.

Evaluation of John Samios' Portfolio of Drawings

From Four and a Half to Six Years, by Florence Cane, December 27, 1935.

John Samios's work seems far above the average. The talent shows in the strong movement of his four-and-a-half-year-old work, and the gradual development of organization and sense of space and mature relationship of form in his later six-year-old work. There is always present a strong, dynamic sense of life. But I notice the strength of movement (of the body) loses as organization (of the mind) develops. This is characteristic of our educational system, and must be combated as soon as possible.

If he comes to me, I will give him movements to begin with to reestablish that strong rhythm as a base for further development.

I. NEWSBOY, 4½ years old

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Mode of Expression</i>	<i>Forms</i>
1. Body	Movement	Strong. Powerful rhythmic line. Indicates good physical coordination, also keen power of observation
2. Psyche	Dynamics	Quality of feeling. expression shows humor Intensity of life shown in character and vitality of expression
3. Mind	Organization	Fair as design it is well placed on paper, but lacks sense of space, no environment expressed in picture
4. Spirit	Emanation	Intended essence: good—it expresses the spirit of newsboy on the street

2 DINNER TABLE, 5 years old

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Mode of Expression</i>	<i>Forms</i>
1. Body	Movement	Good Sometimes wavering. Weaker than at 4½ years. Observation good
2. Psyche	Dynamics	Good sense of life
3. Mind	Organization	Good two-dimensional design
4. Spirit	Emanation	

3 PAINTING TABLE, 5 years old

1. Body	Movement	Rhythmic line strong
2. Psyche	Dynamics	Remarkable sense of light dominating. Action of brush and hand about to begin well suggested. Imagination good
3. Mind	Organization	Very good integration of whole idea. Excellent design
4. Spirit	Emanation	Creative spirit emanates through light and desire to paint

4. THE ZOO, 5½ years old

1. Body	Movement	Diminished—line more timid
2. Psyche	Dynamics	Strong sense of life and humor—animal, man, sun illustrating comprehensive picture of life
3. Mind	Organization	Pretty good composition
4. Spirit	Emanation	Gives out relation of man to animal very well You feel kinship, yet timidity on part of man to approach

5. WORKMAN OILING ENGINE, 5½ years old

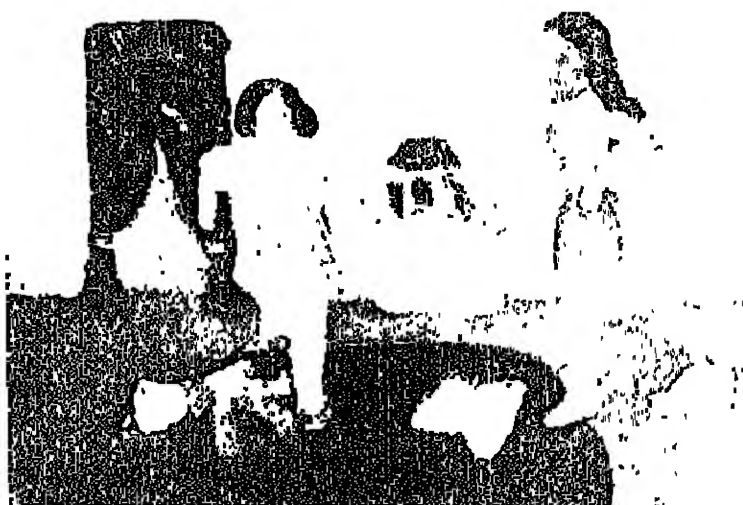
1. Body	Movement	Good Observation remarkable
2. Psyche	Dynamics	Immense, great sense of life. Imagination of subject beyond paper



9 One day we climbed a mountain



10. Sadness



11. Anger



12. An elf on a mushroom

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Mode of Expression</i>	<i>Forms</i>
3. Mind	Organization	Excellent Design Relationship. Composition
4. Spirit	Emanation	Very good Gives out whole experience of machine, man, and work
6 ENGINE COMING DOWN TRACKS, 6 years old		
1. Body	Movement	Good concept but not well executed due to cramped position and poor materials Observation—excellent
2. Psyche	Dynamics	Powerful—sense of engine coming on
3. Mind	Organization	Most unusual—very mature. Design and cutting off indicate great power of selection and composition The parts omitted off page are imagined. This extends world indefinitely. Makes use of spectator power—the spectator can imagine the picture continuing Great art does this
4. Spirit	Emanation	Achieved power of machine bearing down

He came to me soon after and worked in my Saturday morning children's class for a month or so. He was taken ill and the work was interrupted. I have here, however, two illustrations of the drawings he made with me, Nos 7 and 8. They show a renewal of the strong rhythmic line he had at 4½ years, a new-expansion of his artistic expression

Our attitude toward the gifted child is an important matter to consider. Many people set them apart and treat them with too much importance. This is a great mistake and throws them quite out of balance. They should be treated just as normal children, leading a healthy everyday life with regular work and play, only with more time set aside for the studies required for their special gift. If this course is not followed they become conceited and egotistic and the beauty of their gift is spoiled just in proportion to the degree that they are spoiled as human beings.

A fine example of the right understanding and bringing up of highly gifted children can be observed in the Menuhin family. Both Yehudi and his sister are great geniuses and at the same time beautiful natural human beings, leading normal, happy lives.

Before showing other illustrations, a word as to my method of bringing out these qualities should be stated. This chart for judging art was a natural outcome based on my method of teaching art, for in teaching I use the same basic factors. The physical release is through a series of bodily movements as simple in structure as those used for throwing a ball.

For the emotional release, associations and experiences of their own furnish many leads. Organization and design can be developed by exercises with the pencil in playing with lines and shapes to gain balance and relationship.

I have included a few other pictures of work by gifted children, and in each case selected them to show some particular development. Nos. 9, 10, and 11 are by Naomi Baker, also a child from the Clinic. These demonstrate the expression of feeling and the form it may take when the child is directed to use her own experience.

The first, of the child on the mountain top, she said was a happy experience. "One day last summer I climbed a mountain with my friends and I got to the top first! The sun was shining and the wind was blowing and my friends came up soon afterwards." You notice how expressive the picture is of the state of feeling she describes. No. 10 she painted the following week and this is what she said about it. "Some days, you know, I feel sad and then I like to walk in the garden alone." Notice the difference in the posture of the child in this picture compared to the last. In no. 9 her hands are outstretched to the world; in no. 10 they are dropped at her side and her head is down, her thoughts turned inward. No. 11 she calls "Anger." "My mother scolded me and I was in a temper and stamped on my doll." The arms are in action.

The next three, nos. 12, 13, 14, are by Vera Baker, the younger sister of Naomi. She is extremely gifted in my estimation and the



13. Monday morning



14 The family goes to the zoo



15 The railway station



16 Sorrow

analysis roughly is as follows. No. 12, the elf on a mushroom, shows strong and satisfying rhythm, great animation, and beautiful design, as well as a delightful imagination. Unfortunately the color cannot be shown. In all of her work it is amazingly beautiful. "Monday morning" is nice contrast in subject matter. This is done from observation in contrast to the fantasy of the elf. It measures up well in the evidence: the child who painted it being well organized physically, emotionally healthy, and alert mentally, for the picture is well drawn, full of life, and well organized. It certainly emanates the activity of wash day. Of no. 14, "The family goes to the zoo," Vera said, "Look the little sister is as big as the older one!" This again measures up to the form of judgment I am using. The composition is especially fine. The feeling is clearly conveyed of the life of the animals and the people and the relation of the people. Note the enthusiasm of the children and the indifference of the father.

The next two, nos. 15 and 16, were done by Cyrille Gold. The first, a railway station, was done at nine years of age, and shows an unusual power of observation and characterization. The same qualities can be seen carried to a more mature degree in the picture of mother and child called "Sorrow," no. 16. This is a lithograph made last winter at the age of 17. Many times during these years there have been periods of distinct regression—the line became weak or cramped, or the work showed loss of vitality. There were intervals when her interest lagged and the work might have stopped altogether, but at such times new interest was infused, or there was a new stimulus; sometimes a new medium, and more recently a new teacher. Emilio Amero, a Mexican artist of great skill, has been teaching her lithography this winter and it has given a new zest and outlook to her work.

The continuous development of a child showing talent can be maintained better through an understanding of what helps to foster it and what causes it to disappear, and it gives the teacher a clearer idea of where his effort should be directed.

THE GIFTED CHILD IN MUSIC¹

HAZEL M. STANTON

Psychological Corporation of America

What do you mean by the gifted child in music? Is he one who displays unusual ability in playing a musical instrument? Is his talent for musical expression very superior? Is he a genius? What meaning do you, as an individual, give to the word "genius"? Do you know gifted children in music who are not geniuses? Are they then prodigies or merely precocious? If such terminology had not been attached to a particularly talented child, could he yet be gifted? How freely we use these terms and yet seldom find two individuals who give any one of them similar meaning. The popular notion of the gifted child in music may not agree entirely with the psychosociological conception.

It is not the purpose of this brief discussion to quibble over definitions but to delineate, if possible, some conception of the gifted child in music by consideration of the means of (a) identifying the gifted child in music, and (b) educating children with superior talent in music.

IDENTIFYING THE GIFTED CHILD IN MUSIC

To identify musical potentialities—innate aptitudes for musical expression—is a different approach to the identification of the gifted child in music than to recognize and appraise his ability to play a musical instrument. The most usual way of recognizing musical talent in a child is the character of his early performance with a musical instrument. If a young child plays the piano or the violin with unusual skill, shall we consider him gifted? How unusual must this skill be? Is it merely a momentary acceleration in learning which elicits the expression "precocious," or is this unusual skill indicative of talent which will continue to develop and mature on a higher level above those with less apparent skill? This performance

¹ The numbered references are in the list of Selected References on page 84

method of identifying the musically gifted child, serviceable as it may be for outstanding cases, fails to select the gifted child who has not had access to good musical instruments or satisfactory training. The younger the child, the more this performance method of identification must be used by parents. Parents generally lack the experience necessary to identify superior musical ability, some are biased by "halos" and social values associated with any abilities of their own children, some are so talented themselves that they do not heed the evidences of unusual ability in their child, others oppose and suppress talents in their children which are not harmonious with parental plans, especially is this true for musically gifted boys.

Early indications of superior ability in music according to parents was reported by Terman (17) in the order of frequency, as good ear for music, rapid progress in lessons, sang well at an early age, carries time well, persistent desire to learn music, sense of rhythm, great interest in music, unusual music appreciation, learns music easily, has natural talent, good work in original composition. These responses were reported by parents of 104 gifted boys and 117 gifted girls for whom inquiry was made in the home, "Has your child shown very superior ability with respect to general intelligence? Age when first noted. How shown? (Similarly for music, arithmetic, etc.)." From my personal experience another item might be added to the above list—parents have thought their children unusually talented when they were able to name many pieces played on the phonograph, but no case has been known where this performance alone indicated superior ability in music. To judge parents' ability in predicting superior talent in children by the above indications one would need to follow up the musical development of those children.

The mean age for children in the Terman study at which the very superior ability for music was first noted was 4.6 years for the boys, and 5.16 years for the girls, or approximately an average of five years of age. From records of musically gifted children they are known

to be very young when evidences of their precocity are noticed. Biographical records of talented musicians (1) report that they displayed their musical gifts at very early ages. Wagner, however, had not revealed to his mother evidences of his musical gifts up to the age of nine years. It is also definitely inferred in these biographical records that these musicians were gifted intellectually, possessed the zeal and tireless effort to appease an insatiable curiosity, expressed definite interests, had self-confidence in their abilities, and force of character to pursue worthy ideals.

As the child increases in age evidences of unusual musical ability can be discerned by music teachers, including those teaching privately and those teaching in schools. The extent to which the private music teacher identifies superior talent in children is dependent upon his breadth of experience in teaching children, his professional integrity, and his freedom from patronage. It is probable that private music teachers more surely could identify outstanding musical talent, not only because they are musically trained, as are also school music teachers, but because unusually talented children work with their music outside of school entirely and often are unknown in the school environment as musically gifted.

By the time the child is nine or ten years of age certain fundamental musical capacities can be measured by psychological music tests. The results of these measurements identify various degrees of musical potentialities or innate talent in children, designated for practical purposes as: A, musical talent; B, talent; C+, C-, D, or E, musical talent. The identification of these six levels of musical potentialities not only discovers musical talent in children, but it supplements from a different point of view the judgments of parents and teachers who have identified to some degree the talent of these same children.

The tests which have been used most extensively with children, and those which we know most about as to their significance for identifying talent, are the Seashore Measures of Musical Talent (9, 12, 13). These quantitative measures of hearing sensitivity for

musical expression do not test achievement and performance on an instrument, therefore are not sufficient in themselves to identify the excellence of instrumental playing, theoretical knowledge, or singing ability at any particular stage of development. Excellence of instrumental playing can be estimated qualitatively in auditions by competent judges. The measurement of fundamental capacities, an objective and scientific estimate, should supplement the subjective ratings of judges. The results of the music tests together with an objective estimate of intellectual ability are known to predict musical achievement, as well as identify musical possibilities. They have proved to be a long-time estimate of musical talent in that a larger percentage of those with higher musical capacities achieve more in music than do those with lower musical capacities, also those who have been outstanding in musical achievement are known to have high musical capacities by measurement (4, 5, 12, 13). The best single criterion for the identification of the gifted child in music is the classification from the Seashore tests. Further identification can be made by supplementing these test results with intelligence tests, with teachers' estimates of their pupils' talents, and by reports of family background and environment, musical interests of the child, his musical desires and ambitions, and his musical achievements. From such records various degrees of musical achievement can be predicted for the gifted child.

We are now far enough in this discussion to delineate further that level of talent which might be designated as belonging to the gifted child in music. By means of the tests just referred to, various levels or degrees of talent have been designated such as A to E. If a survey were made to select the most talented children in a school population of any city those children who tested in the highest decile of the norm would be described as having A musical capacities. The A talents are two levels above the C talents, or the average, and usually are referred to as superior or excellent talent. Such high capacities also are known to underlie development in music, that

continues and unfolds with interests in a broad musical background, in addition to the playing of instruments and singing. This A-talent group then would be described as the gifted group in music from an objective and scientific point of view. Theoretically they would comprise the highest ten per cent of an unselected group but practically they are about one in a hundred.

From the general literature about gifted children there is a tendency to regard the gifted child as one in whom very superior ability is permanent or continuous throughout his development. For gifted children in music let us then think of those children who promise continuous development which is outstanding, unusual, or superior, as designated at any particular age. This would exclude those who were temporarily accelerated or appeared precocious but did not have the qualities which ensured continued superior achievement with growth and maturity. Since children who classify in the highest talent group (A) when they are ten years old are known to classify in a similar group three and six years hence, continuity of superior endowment can be predicted for such children as development ensues (4). For children not old enough to be tested we lack experimental studies and know of no single criterion which would identify the gifted child in music apart from the judgment of instrumental performance at an early age. Here we are dependent upon qualitative ratings and personal opinion of parents and teachers.

Private teachers have used all the superlatives at their command to describe the apparently outstanding musical ability displayed by one of their pupils at a certain time, but for various reasons that superiority often does not continue, at least not according to the same teacher's judgment a year hence. The same teacher's estimates of a pupil's talent over a period of time may vary greatly. Also the estimates of two or more piano teachers or violin teachers of the same pupil are known to disagree significantly (12). In order to ensure more reliable estimates of gifted children in music from parents and teachers it would be necessary to pool their judgments

made at successive periods of time according to prescribed classifications. This plan is replete with errors but there are no experimental studies from which we can learn how to increase the reliability of personal judgments in identifying gifted children in music.

Any gifted child in music would display a great variety and degree of talents within a range of the least gifted to the most gifted. Those who are the most gifted reveal abilities early, as did Yehudi Menuhin. You may think that his "phenomenal talent" was very easy to identify. And then we may ask, identify by whom? Who did identify the ability of this gifted boy which has been designated as the genius type? Was it either one of his parents, his teachers, his friends, the music critics, or the general public? His first appearance in New York City was scarcely noticed. If circumstances had not brought his rich talents to the attention of the public would he have continued to be recognized as a prodigy and as a genius? The psychological and sociological implications here are numerous and complex. Whether or not he had been recognized by the majority of those interested and competent to judge him he yet possessed the same potentialities for development. There must be hundreds of gifted children in music whose talents are unknown and whose musical achievements have not excelled to the extent necessary to be recognized as those of a gifted child. As a level of departure for further delineation of the very talented child in music it is proposed that we think of the gifted group of children in music within the highest decile rank of those tested by the Seashore tests and recognize them as potentially gifted. When once these children are identified, experimental studies can be made in cooperation with schools, private music teachers, and parents in order to describe and evaluate their range of musical performance and achievement as a basis for more adequate identification of the gifted child in music.

In the scientific study of the inheritance of musical talent in families in which one member of each family was a famous musician some factors have been deduced as characteristic of famous musicians in America during their youth and adulthood (12, 14). The

musicians from whose experiences these factors have been crystallized were given the Seashore tests when their ages ranged from 45 to 66 years. Their results in the tests at that time would classify them in the group which has been suggested as the gifted group of children according to the single criterion of the Seashore tests. Their distinguishing factors are as follows:

A musician of the high rank represented by these musically educated individuals may be said, for the most part,

To have musical capacities which are within the highest ten per cent of a normal group

To have had a musical environment *during youth in the home* where one or more parents were professional musicians, a parent's studio was located in the home, and musical artists were heard frequently in the home

To have had a rich musical environment *during youth in the community* where opera and concerts, solo or ensemble, vocal or instrumental, were heard frequently, and music festivals were attended regularly

To have a musical environment *during adult life* in a city where there were abundant opportunities to experience music in varied forms of expression

To have a musical education and training consisting of a major in music in a recognized university or college followed by extensive private study in music, usually including one or more years of study abroad

To be active in musical participation to the extent that one is a concert artist, or studio artist, a musical educator, an author, an editor, a composer of merit

To experience repeated emotional reactions aroused by musical stimulation, expressed in the form of exhaustion, sobbing, exhilaration, transference into another world, conscious outgo of emotional power

To have music as a part of life daily, in that one is a composer, a private or college teacher of voice or of an instrument or of theory, or in that one must play or hear some music daily as a great source of courage, or as a *spiritual tonic*

To experience a great desire for creative expression, or to show creative ability to the extent of composing songs, choruses, concertos, symphonies

To have been graduated from a university or college and to have graduate degrees or advanced professional degrees

EDUCATING THE GIFTED CHILD IN MUSIC

The usual gifted child in music is being educated in the private and public schools of our country. Many who are highly gifted and at the upper extreme of the gifted group are known to continue with their special tutors for the greater part of their education. The appraisal of existing methods of education for the gifted child in music cannot be based, as yet, upon systematic, experimental data resulting from controlled observation and continuous records of the unfolding of gifted children's musical talents in known environments, both at home, in the neighborhood, and at the school, since such studies have not been made. However, from the known facts inferred from the development or lack of development of identified prodigies and other richly endowed children, we are able to formulate briefly some of the conditions which are to be fostered or modified.

First, the milieu in which gifted children in music can function both musically and academically needs to be one of coöperation, understanding, and noninterference on the part of parents, siblings, playmates, and teachers. The gifted child needs the freedom of self-control to execute his ideas and pursue his interests. Noninterference with helpful direction when desired is essential. This is easier to say than it is to think. And it is much easier to think than it is to fulfill. Parental authority and coercion abounding in "don'ts" atrophy an abundance of latent talents in children, and repeatedly suppress incipient but unrecognized abilities. This freedom of self-control and self-expression from the dominance and intimidating intrusion of adults needs expert regulation and apportioning, which are obtained through the wise and common-sense direction of parents and teachers. Such direction cannot be patterned according to that of the neighbor's child or some preconceived notion which is an outgrowth of parental desire or satisfaction, but needs to be developed according to the gifted child's motives, his urges, his interests, his mental, physical, and nervous energy. Protect the gifted

child from the deadening effect of mechanized routine. Maintain flexible schedules in which the gifted child is not bound entirely to the daily routine of the family and school except along general lines and principles. Permit constructive variations in clocklike schedules and group norms. Keep the demands of living simple with some regularity. It is the inherent right of any gifted child not to be singled out and made conspicuous. The gifted child is little understood, not alone because adults may be obstinate and self-centered but because they may be ignorant and unaware of the gifted child in their home and school. They are not prepared to alter their old habits of parental domination which too frequently stifle individuality and dwarf self-development. Shelter the gifted child not from normal and wholesome study and play with others, but from the exploitation of his teachers and parents. Resist the forces which stunt or accelerate his development for financial gain, parental pride, and musical patronage.

Second, his musical training always should be centered in a background of educational and musical culture. The general or academic education of a gifted child in music should not be neglected and sacrificed for his music. His growth and development for the intricate demands made upon him need the intellectual enrichment and emotional stability which can be gained through studies of the social sciences, history and literature, the physical sciences, mathematics, the arts, customs and manners of other peoples, biographies of great men and women who have searched for similar truths and accomplished through their mistakes as well as their successes. The greatest problem is to have such information available for the gifted child to find and assimilate at his own rate of progress and in cooperation with groups of children progressing at a similar rate. Individualized instruction at school and at home interspersed with group projects and juvenile seminar discussions accomplishes most for the gifted child.

Third, begin the musical tuition of a gifted child as early as it

seems feasible and place him with excellent teachers who not only can direct a gifted child's talents to their fullest expression but who understand child development. Such excellent or master teachers must be free from professional jealousy, and the necessity for patronage, if they develop vital self-direction in the child. The relationship between a gifted teacher and a gifted pupil, delicate and sensitive as it may be, cannot be described in terms of the teaching or in terms of the child's achievement; it can only be described adequately in terms of what happens to the child himself. What satisfactions has he gained, what are his interests, what are his desires, his motives, and his urges? A truly gifted child is an inspiration to gifted parents and teachers. They learn from each other. Georges Enesco, friend and helpful counselor to Yehudi Menuhin, is quoted as saying to Yehudi's father, "I have learned as much from Yehudi as he has learned from me" (7). A gifted teacher does not assume serious possession of authority, and he dares to admit to the child his mistakes and errors in directing the child's interests and abilities.

Very talented children usually begin musical studies with private teachers or in music schools when they are young. Yehudi Menuhin began violin study when he was four and a half years old. Ruth Slenczyński made known that she wanted a piano before her second birthday and began piano lessons when she was three and a half years of age. Various artists, according to Sward (15), were studying with master teachers or at important conservatories, or making their debut at the following ages: Rubinstein at three, Heifetz at five, Barth, Schelling, and Schnabel at six; Enesco, Huberman, Levitzki, Spalding at seven; Burgin, Hofmann, Kindler, Lhévinne, Rosenthal, Vecsey at eight; Kochanski, Moiséwitsch, Stravinski, Zimbalist at nine; Casella, Elman, Flesch, Ganz, Grainger, Godowsky, Ornstein at ten; Bartok, Casals, Dushkin, Paderewski, Prokofieff, Salmond, Siloti at twelve.

Gifted children often are reported as tireless in their use of energy, therefore they need thoughtful guidance in the amount of time to be

allotted to their respective activities. The gifted child in music needs to learn self-control in the amount of daily practice to be devoted to instrumental playing. For the most talented this practice time does not exceed three hours a day. Yehudi's father tells us,

Music is, of course, Yehudi's life but it is only one of the most important parts. There is a general culture to be thought of, books to read, languages to become more perfect in, living to do. Yehudi would work too hard if we allowed him. Why, there were those evenings in Paris, just before we left, when Enesco, Jacqueline Salomons, and Maurice Eisenberg would come in for chamber music and play from seven until three in the morning. One night, the entire sixteen quartets of Beethoven! Fantastic! Mrs. Menuhin and I were dead tired, but not Yehudi! And we said to each other that we must not allow the children to know how exhausted we were . . . (2)

In conclusion let me call the reader's attention to the valuable records which can be found of the family background, education, and achievements of certain gifted musicians in Cox's study of geniuses (1). Some of her deductions include references to musical geniuses as well as others. Briefly they are as follows: youths who achieve eminence, first, have, in general, (a) a heredity above the average, and (b) superior advantages in early environment; second, are distinguished in childhood by behavior which indicates an unusually high I.Q. (Mozart composed a minuet at five); third, are characterized not only by high intellectual traits, but also by persistence of motive and effort, confidence in their abilities, and great strength or force of character.

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THE Terman Classes at Public School 500

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On January 28, 1936, a new order of public school was founded in the City of New York. This school was originated jointly by the Board of Education of New York City and Teachers College, Columbia University. It was officially designated Public School 500, the Speyer School, and was located in the Speyer School Building, the site of educational experimentation since the turn of the century. On the side of Teachers College, Public School 500 is organized as an adjunct of the Advanced School of Education. Studies in psychology and education will be made there by doctoral candidates, working with professors assigned to the Advanced School.

The unique features of Public School 500 are (1) that it is a school for exceptional children who are not mentally deficient; (2) that every pupil in the school was selected solely on the basis of mental tests; and (3) that the same pupils will be kept under experimental instruction for five years. There are 225 pupils, of whom 175 are of the group clustering between 75 and 90 I.Q. (S-B). The remaining 50 pupils are of the highly intelligent group, testing at or above 130 I.Q. (S-B). The classes composed of the pupils first mentioned are called Binet classes. The classes containing children above 130 I.Q. are called Terman classes. It is with the two Terman classes that this paper deals.

It will conduce to the clearest understanding if we first describe these classes as they are now in operation,¹ and then discuss the educational psychology and philosophy on which experimentation is based. Each class consists of 25 pupils, composed of boys and girls in equal numbers. The pupils were all past the seventh birthday when

¹ Public School 500 is under the immediate administrative supervision of Assistant Superintendent Benjamin B. Greenberg of New York City, with Dr. Lucie A. Petri as assistant to principal in charge. The teachers are all regular appointees of the Board of Education. The scientific experts working upon research are supplied by the Advanced School of Education of Teachers College.

the school opened on February 3, 1936, and none was more than 9 years 7 months old on that date. This gave an age range of 30 months, with a majority of children between the eighth and ninth birthdays. The pupils come from every borough of Greater New York, and are fairly representative of all the ethnic stocks in the city.

The teachers in charge of these classes were selected on the basis of past records, as rating high in all the qualities which win and keep the respect of intelligent children; and for their interest in experimental work.² Both teachers hold the license to teach in elementary schools, and both have taught junior-high-school subjects. In addition to the teachers in charge, there have been four other teachers during the first term of the school (just closing on June 26, 1936). French, art, elementary science, and nutrition have been introduced by specialists.

It has been proved in experimentation conducted previously³ that children who test in the hundredth centile, *i.e.*, at or above 130 I.Q. (S-B), cover with excellent marks the standard curriculum of the public schools of New York in half of the time taken by average children, and thus have one half of their classroom time for other things. One of the chief problems which we are attempting to solve in the Terman classes at Public School 500 is that of the curriculum for these children. How shall we choose the materials from the world's stock of knowledge with which to enrich the intellectual life of these gifted pupils? It is futile to give them high-school "subjects" (though they learn such subjects readily), because they will later have these presented in any case. From what premises shall we reason, in selecting materials, which they will not otherwise find in the course of formal instruction?

The guiding lines for the solution of this problem must come from psychology and philosophy. We are guided primarily by one

² The teacher of T₁ is Miss Kathryn Gallagher, of T₂, Mrs. Myrna Ingram Schuck.

³ Jacob Theobald, *Two Special Opportunity Classes for Very Bright Children*. New York, N. Y., Board of Education, 1929.

important fact of psychology, newly learned; *i.e.*, the fact of the restrictive nature of the world's work as regards degrees of intellect. It has been discovered that there are some kinds of work which can be done by the highly intelligent, and by them only. For instance, advancement of knowledge in the learned professions is dependent on intellects in the top one per cent. It seems highly probable that *conservation* of knowledge in the learned professions depends mainly on intellects between 130 and 160 I.Q.; while actual *advancement* of knowledge requires a degree of intelligence above 160 I.Q. Such data as are now available seem to suggest such a conclusion.⁴

Children who test above 130 I.Q. (S-B) are the conservators and the originators of those ideas and techniques upon which civilization depends. The other ninety-nine per cent cannot do this work. The world's work is arranged in a hierarchy, with reference to degrees of intellect. "The top one per cent" can do all that the rest can do and some things that none of the rest can do. It is with the things which are restricted to these children that special education should busy itself.

We believe that such children should understand at an early age the history of common instruments and techniques of civilized living. They should comprehend that electric lights were not always with us; that it was a slow and difficult process to invent methods of "telling" time; that the minds and efforts of hundreds of persons built up the knowledge on which a modern hospital is founded. The slow evolution of each object of common use should be traced, insofar as may be feasible and interesting. In pursuit of this aim, our Terman classes have worked out a history of clothing and a history of transportation in their first term. About twenty "trips" were made in the pursuit of these studies to appropriate museums, factories, and the like. These children are, of course, able to consult references and to do library work at 7 to 9 years of age. In fact, they love this method

⁴ I. Lorge and L. S. Hollingworth, "The Adult Status of Highly Intelligent Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, September 1936

of work. They consult dictionaries, encyclopedias, etc., as well as high-school pupils do.

The study of the life of civilized man leads inevitably to the study of biography. "What does the word 'pasteurized' mean on the milk bottle?" "Why is it called a volt?" "Why do they call it listerine?" These children need to know, and can learn, the relationship between civilization and the lives of significant persons "who really lived."⁵

Furthermore, we believe that we are justified in giving these children as many as possible of the tools of learning. The French language is a tool of learning. If one foreign language be mastered in the elementary school, the years beyond may be used for mastery of a second and a third.

The love of beauty is strong in highly intelligent children. Therefore, special work in art and in music is proper to their needs. A radio has been installed in our classroom, and music appreciation will be fostered and taught. Special work in art has already been undertaken.

It is not intended that any of these children will enter senior high school before they are twelve years old. Most of them will enter at thirteen years of age. The chief problem of education is to give them instruction and training that will fully occupy and interest them, to the ultimate benefit of society, without pushing them into the company of pupils so much older than themselves that social contact is impossible. The difficulty and magnitude of this problem is by no means widely realized as yet. A study is being made of the ways these young children take to relieve boredom under ordinary conditions of instruction. We are accumulating interesting data on this point.

The subject is such a large one that we cannot hope to do more than define it in a brief article. One of the largest of its aspects con-

⁵ L S Hollingworth, "Introduction to Biography for Young Children Who Test above 150 IQ," *Teachers College Record*, 1925

cerns the articulation of these gifted pupils with their world when they leave schooling. We hear much of the desirability of producing a greater number of highly intelligent children. But does society really and wisely use those it already produces? Observations of the subsequent history of such children, made to date, suggest that there is much blind waste at present of these precious resources. It is the proper duty of educators to make such waste known, and to offer suggestions for conservation and utilization.

Educators are the only official guardians appointed by society for gifted children in addition to their natural guardians, the parents. Courts seldom see them (for they are not delinquent). Physicians do not deal with them as such, and even incidentally not as often as *with other children (for they are healthy)*. Legislators do not consider them; (there are many laws dealing with mentally defective children, but none dealing with the gifted).

Education is charged with responsibility for the development of gifted children. It is the professional duty of educators to understand *this group much more fully and precisely than they do, as yet.*

CLINICAL PROBLEMS OF BRIGHT CHILDREN

FLORENCE MATEER

Director, Merryheart School

Twelve years ago Merryheart opened its doors to its first group of superior children who formed a small experimental preschool group. At that time the whole idea of those concerned with Merryheart's function was that of correction of such minor problems as these children might present and the best possible furthering of each bit of ability they might show through preventive considering of such problems.

In that twelve-year period the work has crystallized itself into at least four entirely distinct phases of bright-child provision. There are, first of all, a fairly large group, varying at different times in the school's history from ten to sixty children, who have been accepted for schoolwork and preschool training of a type that would best conserve their superiority. The parents have stated the child's freedom from any definite problem and day-by-day observation and study have confirmed these claims. The handling of these children has been merely a joy, giving an excellent basis for comparative analysis of the behavior in the other groups. Most of these children have been followed to third or fourth grade only.

The second group is closely related to the first in many ways, sometimes developing out of false claims for a child in the first group. A superior child develops some undesirable trait. He becomes a variable in behavior, attitude, emotional expression, or educational response. The study of this immediate problem is made clinically, cross-sectioning the child's daily world, his abilities, and problems. Analytic rapport is a matter of previous establishment, and necessary interviews are held casually with no lingering aftermath of a distasteful episode. The elimination of the problem is usually a matter of a few days, a few weeks, or a winter's attendance. Some few of these children, however, have been followed from that

seemingly innocuous episode through as much as four year's of consequent behavior with the constant appearance of difficult situations. Some are still being followed after that length of time with palliative results but with no promise of complete alleviation. Only continued clinical records of these children will relate these minor indications to adolescent and adult difficulties.

The third group is the one which most emphatically demands the attention of all handling it. It is formed of that large group of children who are admittedly superior in ability, not only intelligent, but often endowed with traits that would lead one to predict superior value of their later contributions as members of the social group to which they belong and in which they will have matured. But any such future value is marred by the threat offered in asocial and atypical behavior filled with nonutilitarian responses.

Our fourth group comprises the younger bright brothers and sisters of the third group, children who are showing absolutely none of their sibling's disturbances but in whom every effort is being made to maintain that nondisturbing trend.

These last two groups are as closely related as are the first two, and our service as clinical psychologists at Merryheart has met, in groups three and four, the test of its ability actually to conserve intelligence from abnormal functioning. It is these children it seems most important to discuss.

No one considers it a vital matter if a child steals a few pennies once in his life. If he lies artistically but naively without too much planning it is usually given a smile, some slight correction, and is forgotten. Superior children sulk, have tantrums, run away, become moody, fight, swear, cajole, and argue just as their slightly less intelligent friends. Only an unintelligent child could pass through the challenge of ten or fifteen years of living without trying out his world in that experimental fashion, without trying to find how far he can successfully modify situations to his own whims. It is only when day after day and month after month shows constant varia-

tions of all types in one and the same child; it is only when the careful elimination of one variation merely gives rise to another just as significant, it is only when one can rule out unfortunate home handling, unfortunate accidents in early experience, some neglected habit formation, that such behavior becomes a real clinical problem in spite of the child's superior traits.

The study of each such child then takes on a definite procedure. Intelligence tests have found the child is ideally equipped to understand the demands of his world. A study of parents has shown intelligence directed toward proper handling of the child. Examination of the home situation has eliminated causative factors. Analytic approach to the child may have revealed attitudes and complexes but it has not given knowledge of the beginning of the difficulties nor does it relieve them. The question of causation necessitates the relation of the condition to the child's physical organism and out of that field there come the first hints of what the real trouble may be.

The clinical problems then presented formulate themselves in the question—Will the behavior resolve itself into normal responses or be modified to approximate the normal responses, if the correction of the physical handicaps is accomplished?

During the whole period of the clinical work at Merryheart an attempt has been made to follow these two phases of study; that is, to determine probable causative factors and to prove their relationship by following the child through corrective treatment to determine whether the original problems are eliminated by the correction of the tentatively accepted physical cause.

So far several fascinating groups have rewarded our efforts. The first of these to identify itself was reported upon some years ago. The congenital syphilitic of superior intelligence offers many problems. He is egocentric, highly verbal, with little regard for the close relationship between his statements and facts, although he is so plausible that years may pass before he is suspected of lying. He is often charming, socially minded, eager for personal ownership and

attention. He steals, lies, yields to tantrums, and as adolescence develops often begins to show a marked difficulty with academic work and adjustment to sex. Following these children is a matter of waiting until they have become adults and are trying the final test of self-support and self-direction. In general, the present trend of our cases indicates that if even barely enough treatment is given to render his blood Wassermann negative many a member of this group loses his problems and maintains normal adaptive tendencies. In other cases persistent medication over ten or more years past the negative Wassermann is essential for even a minimal amount of stability.

The next group which revealed itself as of definite significance was that in which there was acute disturbance of the calcium utilization or of its actual supply. These cases as well as the syphilitic come complicated by all sorts of other factors. When there is a divorce pending in the family and that problem is resolved simultaneously with the physical correction of the child's need, no one would dare claim correction as due to either factor, but would have to give just dues to both phases of correction. The alleviation of poor vision, restoration of an undetected deafness, provision of pocket money for a penniless child, change in school, analytic relief of early fears, one and all, as well as hundreds of other measures, modify behavior in some children. It is only when one has the opportunity to attempt correction by modifying only one factor at a time that claims may be made justly for the value of the specific measure used. Calcium deficiency, disturbance of the calcium-phosphorus relationship, may occur in relation to many other problems. It is also a frequent solitary cause of the most extreme of acute and long-standing behavior cases. Merryheart Clinic now has, by elimination of complex cases, some two hundred children in whom calcium without any other factor of change has proved all-sufficient as the wizard who changes irritability, sleeplessness, tantrums, negativism which refuses even the thing the child desires, destructiveness, the eating of filth,

scratching, biting, pinching, and screaming into the normally acceptable, if critical, behavior that should accompany intelligent childhood. These children seldom give any marked indication of early rachitis, but are primarily calcium-short in muscle and nerve tissue. There is no more spectacular experience than to see Jimmy, aged seven or eight, come into the clinic, defiant, sullen, refusing interest in toys, games, tests, snarling at parents and teachers; then to follow him through three or more months of corrective medication, keeping hands off, so far as suggestive or corrective therapy is concerned, and to duplicate the earlier clinic day with one filled by cooperative responses and a "good record" from parents as well as child.

About the same time that it became evident calcium might be an important factor in behavior tendencies, it also became apparent that the minute glandular variations that developed in those who were not pathological cases could also cause their share of cases who had real behavior problems, even though they retained, as many gland cases cannot, their superior ability.

The hypothyroid cases who suffered some mild variation were the easiest to identify, although types have ramified bewilderingly as the number of cases has grown. The superior child with some beginning or slight thyroid deficiency usually is quite aggrieved at the world. The earlier desire to do and then to be able to accomplish has been replaced by desiring to do with inadequate efforts that bring failure. School, parties, music, play, and every other angle of life shocks the child by proving him less competent than he thought. Solitary traits develop, subterfuges to conceal despair are invented, crying occurs upon the slightest provocations, tantrums may come, and evasive half-truths are a matter of daily concern. The attempted compensations that follow may bring almost any amount of involvement. In older children suicide is often contemplated and adds to the general problem.

Relief is usually very quickly accomplished, although it is no un-

common matter for such a child to need constant help for five to ten years, through good periods alternating with renewed difficulties.

The more recent studies of pituitary and gonadal variations give us the opportunity to see other avenues of help opening with even greater promise for the elimination of a wide range of behavior difficulties. It is hard to group children who are suffering from a disturbance of the pituitary function because of the vast number of types found. One group of ten cases of extreme type is now available at Merryheart, compiled from the continuous study of pituitary cases over six years.

These ten cases are unquestionably superior. To speak the language of the mental examiners, they all have I.Q.'s between 130 and 190. Nine of the ten are boys. They all presented their first clinical problems before the age of eight, although four of them were not seen in any psychological clinic until between eleven and twelve.

To report the problem of any one of these is to report what might have happened in the case of any of the others. They are primarily unpredictable. They may threaten the maid with a butcher knife, set fire to rubbish on the basement floor, take twenty dollars and go to the railroad station to buy a ticket for some faraway place, destroy their own clothes, argue over some nonessential and accept real crises calmly, fight, brawl, lie, steal, or resist the usual thing in any other way. They are inclined to break out into antagonistic resistance to things they have previously accepted without demur. It is the pituitary variant who is most apt to eat spinach for six years and then explode into wrath when it is offered some day when guests are present. He may go quietly to his room for a rest period for many days, then a noise leads one to investigate and that day he is doing acrobatics on top of the dresser. He gets along with individuals older than himself because they more readily stimulate his imagination. He prefers to dictate to children of his own age and so frequently has few companions. His hand activities are usually poor and, as

he is held up to the standard of his school group by teachers, many occupations that should be pleasures become tasks and are performed inadequately enough to cause him intense chagrin. He usually veils this in some intellectual and devious fashion, only to compensate for the hurt in some other explosion of activity that will get him individual attention.

In spite of his intelligence he may be poor in school requirements. He often reads with little instruction by four or five years of age and then finds the grade requirements a basis for utter boredom. Because of this he really does not learn the things he should and may later need individual help to maintain his grade work. If this happens, there is every possible type of trouble in store for the tutoring adult. He cannot accept the idea of his need for conformity and utilizes all his ability to maintain his point.

Some of these children, if they come from poor homes which cannot devote to the child the money sufficient to correct the conditions, or if they come from any type of home but are not recognized clinically, eventually get into the court and correctional institutions. The indications are that they are just as resourceful in those more advanced stages of variance from accepted social patterns.

The clinical study of this group has revealed to us certain deviations in behavior under test procedure that are practically constant in all cases of definite pituitary deficiency. In the case which suffers from pituitary dysfunction without any other identifiable handicap these characteristics are most obvious. The most easily recognized of these deviate functions is that of inversion. The pituitary case may read words backwards, invert syllables, spell invertedly, do any and all mathematical computations with inversion of position or processes. Or he may merely be deoriented for directions, or confuse situations which to most of us are of the most obvious meaning. One child says "nine times four are thirty-six," then writes 63. Another adds a column as 21, then puts down the 2 and carries the 1. A third places a coat and hat in a definitely assigned closet and cannot for

days find that closet without help. A child in her teens had never learned to go anywhere alone and after 60 days of being taken home by a teacher, walking, and being made to identify direction and where to turn still could not decide which way her home lay.

The clinical study of these characteristics is a slow matter. One has to determine if a trait is there, then try to determine how it developed, and see if it can be corrected. It is necessary not only to learn whether a trait is present in a majority of cases of a certain group but whether it is also absent from cases not belonging in that group.

This is one of the nicest types of problems that clinical psychologists can find confronting them. There are so many gradations of human material that the division of cases into definite groups showing or not showing certain problems is not enough. Many cases must be eliminated from the final study of cases crystallized as "pure" for the study of one of these types. Our ten hypopituitary cases are a crystallized group, functioning out of some four hundred cases with pituitary involvement.

The next point that we have attempted to throw some light upon at Merryheart has been that of the correction of the case once its needs have been determined, and the determination of the correlative or synchronous disappearance of the undesirable traits. In that field lies all that the parents desire to have us do. They want results. Often they can be obtained. At present we are inclined to say that there seems to be a possibility that a great many human ills so far accepted as unavoidable may be not only helped but eliminated by a right coöperative study of human material by medicine and psychology.

Once we have studied a child at Merryheart and have seen a corrective program initiated, he may be given some academic attention. But we are rather unconcerned about the amount he studies each day. There seems to be no doubt but that the child, put into proper physical condition for learning and reassured psychologically of the

presence of such help as he may need, finds himself able to go ahead and learn in spite of difficulties and with a minimum of time and special methods.

Of course one may well lay claim to such findings and then find in a year or two that all the accomplishment has meant was a temporary spurt, with an aftermath of renewed problems. Hence we have been very slow to make claims for correction. Now several of our problem small people have maintained their gain and adjustment to the successful completion of four-year college courses in college-board schools. This seems an adequate test of the first sample and we consequently feel that schools should be urged to try putting the child into condition before trying to work with him if he be a variant though bright. Of course the slow variant needs such help even more, but the bright child is better material and surely well worth the first attention schools can give from this angle.

Merryheart is not a large school; children stay just barely as long as help is needed, returning for more help clinically or educationally as needed, but each year it is instrumental in readjusting to normal living some hundred and fifty bright children as a part of its constant clinical study programs. Help a bright-problem child find himself, correct his handicap, and you may trust him to educate himself.

SALVAGING OUR GIFTED CHILDREN

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

AND

RHEA K. BOARDMAN

*Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted,
School of Education, New York University*

In a skyscraper building, on Washington Square, is one of the most interesting institutions in the world—New York University's Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted. Through this Clinic, conducted by the School of Education, day in and day out pass a stream of gifted and talented children—young writers, young painters, young musicians, young scientists, and others who are destined to be leaders in business, industry, politics, and other fields of human endeavor. Their parents have come to the Clinic for advice on various problems concerning them—their education, opportunities for development of special talents, problems of family relationships and behavior. Here, overlooking the roofs of Greenwich Village where for years genius has run riot, science is trying to learn more about the nature of the gifted, their development, and their problems of adjustment.

In the past three years 184 children have been referred to the Clinic. Of these children 114 have been accepted for some type of service. The other 70 children were rejected for various reasons—their intelligence was too low to bring them within the group with which the Clinic is working, they lived at too great a distance to make case work possible, their problems were medical rather than psychiatric and social.

The majority of these children were referred by their parents.

Sources of Referral of Clinic Cases

Parent or guardian	85
Social agency	11
School	14
Friend	2
Self	2

The fact that so few children, relatively, are referred by schools reflects, in our estimation, the lack of concern of our public schools with the behavior and adjustment of children. It may further reflect the fact that few children in the New York schools are given intelligence tests, and that teachers tend to look upon children who are not adjusting to the school situation, and consequently not learning, as dull. However this may be, 7 of the 14 children referred by schools were referred by the grade adviser of one public school, 3 more were referred by one visiting teacher, and the other 4 children were referred by progressive schools.

The Clinic defines a gifted child as one whose intelligence quotient is 130 or above, the highest 1 per cent of the child population in intelligence. It is interested in children talented in art, music, and the like only if they are of high intelligence as well. The actual intelligence quotients of the 114 children accepted in the past three years are as follows.

Under 100	1	150-159	14
100-109	3	160-169	5
110-119	10	170-179	3
120-129	15	180-189	1
130-139	35	190-199	2
140-149	24	200 and up	1

It may seem surprising that 14 of the cases carried in the past three years have tested below 120, one of them below 100. But when a clinic accepts a child for treatment, it frequently has to take on the whole family. The child's problems, in many cases, grow out of his family relationships, and treatment has to concern itself with parents and siblings, occasionally more intensively so than with the child originally referred as the problem. These children who test below 120 are all siblings drawn into the picture in this way. The child testing below 100 was actually mentally deficient (I.Q. 71). But she was the twin sister of a child whose I.Q. was well over 130.

The problem of the gifted twin was definitely tied into her relationship with the mentally deficient twin.

Fifteen more of the children tested between 120 and 129—under our criterion of giftedness. Several of these children were siblings of gifted children previously referred, and drawn into the picture as were the children who tested under 120. Several more, the psychologist who tested them believed, had greater ability than the mental age achieved on the test indicated. They were obviously resistant or disturbed while being tested. Two of the children, tested on the Stanford-Binet, were over sixteen years of age and unquestionably had greater ability than the Binet score would indicate. Finally, the Clinic's criterion of giftedness (I.Q. 130 or up) is obviously arbitrary and a matter of convenience, and it would be ridiculous rigidly to adhere to it. With the gifted as with the mentally deficient, an I.Q. by itself may be misleading. The whole diagnostic picture must be considered. Other criteria must be taken into consideration.

Of particular interest are the 7 children testing 170 and above. Both Terman and Hollingworth have expressed the opinion that children testing so high find it difficult if not impossible to make adequate social adjustments. Three of these children were referred for problems of behavior, in each case of a minor nature. They now appear to be well adjusted. The other four were referred for educational guidance, and at present are making normal adjustments as well. With one exception, these children are between five and nine years of age. What the future holds for them time will tell. These children have minds that have virtually unlimited potentialities. If they emerge into adult life as effective personalities, they will appear among the geniuses listed by the compilers of dictionaries of biography a century hence.

The other child, now fourteen years old, is one of perhaps a dozen children who have had a reliably determined I.Q. of 200 or more in the entire history of mental testing. A brief characterization of this boy may be of interest.

R was brought to the Clinic when he was eight years old, and at that time he had on the Stanford-Binet an I Q. of 204. His father, an engineer, is a well-known writer in the scientific field. His mother holds a doctor's degree in physical chemistry from a foreign university. Neither the father nor the mother have been tested but they are both persons of very unusual mental ability. R's two younger brothers are also of very superior mentality. The family is of Jewish origin and both the father and the mother were born in a foreign country.

R, their first child, was born when the mother was thirty and the father was thirty-five. His early development was exceedingly precocious. His first tooth erupted at five months of age; he began to walk at nine months and was running at eleven months; he was talking in sentences at eleven months; he learned to read at four years of age, and was reading omnivorously before he entered school. When he entered school he had an unusual vocabulary, using such words as "casuistry" and "disproportionate." At the age of two he was modeling in clay and at the age of three he began to design and make machines. He applied through his father to the United States Patent Office for two patents before he was eight years old. At eight years of age he had a large library in his home composed mostly of books of science, history, and biography, which he had catalogued himself on the Dewey decimal system. At this age he was writing a book on electricity. He also at the age of eight had a small machine shop in which he was working on his machines. At the age of six he enjoyed discussing philosophy. At the age of seven he would debate on the significance of religion in world development.

The day he first came to the Clinic, Claudel's experiments on developing power by raising the colder water from the lower levels of the sea had just been reported in the scientific section of *The New York Times*. R. explained the theory involved much more clearly than had the scientific writer of *The New York Times*.

R is well-developed physically, above average in height and considerably above average in weight, likes the outdoors, especially hiking and riding horseback. At the age of nine he showed the first symptoms of the approach of puberty. R is well-adjusted to his school and his playmates, plays on their soccer and baseball teams, is well liked, and is a leader in many of their activities.

The average age of these children, at time of referral, is between eight and nine years. Sixty-six of them are boys and forty-eight are girls. In general, their origins and traits correspond with Terman's

findings.¹ They come from families of very superior educational and social status. Their fathers are largely professional men or the owners of independent businesses.

	<i>Per Cent General Population (L. A.)</i>	<i>Per Cent Terman's Fathers</i>	<i>Per Cent Clinic's Fathers</i>
Professional group	2.9	29.1	64.00
Public-service group	3.3	4.5	0.00
Commercial group	36.1	46.2	34.36
Industrial group	57.7	20.2	1.64
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.00

While the parents of these children have not been tested, an estimate of their probable intelligence may be made by rating the intellectual requirements of the occupations of the fathers against the Barr Scale:²

<i>Barr Scores</i>	<i>Per Cent General Population</i>	<i>Per Cent Terman's Fathers</i>	<i>Per Cent Clinic's Fathers</i>
15 up	2.2	26.8	59
12-15	4.5	26.8	19
9-12	37.0	36.1	19
6-9	13.4	8.9	0
under 6	42.9	1.3	3
average score	7.29	12.77	14.91

In the light of this comparison, the parents of the Clinic children would seem themselves to be of very high intellectual ability.

The Clinic families are not of as high economic status as those studied by Terman in California, however. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that nearly two thirds of these children are of

¹ Genetic Studies of Genius, volume II, *Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses* Stanford University Press, 1926.

² The higher the Barr Scale score, the greater presumably the intellectual requirements of the occupation in question

foreign parentage. Coming from countries where economic classes are relatively closed, and having been in America less than a generation, these family stocks have not climbed the economic ladder as had Terman's group.³

Physically these children, like the children studied by Terman, are distinctly superior, tall and heavy for their ages, of superior nutrition, with histories of accelerated physical development. Contrary to Terman's findings, in the judgment of the Clinic pediatrician, they have distinctly superior health histories. Despite this fact, their health histories seem strikingly to confirm the fact recently reported by the Brush Foundation that incidence of allergic conditions rises as intelligence increases.

The gifted children observed by the Clinic, like those studied by Terman, seem to be not only of superior mentality but of superior physical development and vitality, and to come from family stocks likewise superior in these respects.

The Clinic accepts children for two types of service: "advisory" and "treatment." Advisory service is given at the request of parent, school, or social agency, usually concerning problems of placement—finding suitable schools, recreational outlets, clinical or other agency services, or institutions. Preliminary studies are made of these children, as a basis for advisement, but no treatment is given.

Before giving this service, a preliminary study is made of the child in each case. This study includes a physical examination, psychological testing, and an inventory of the child's personality traits, interests, and habits of adjustment. Typically the parent, or representative of the agency referring the case, is first seen by a social worker at the Clinic. The child is then brought to the Clinic for physical examination and psychological testing. Meanwhile, a social worker visits the home and the school for information concerning

³ The social backgrounds of these Clinic children cannot be assumed to be representative of those of gifted children as a whole in the metropolitan area of New York, but one suspects that in New York gifted children, as a group, come from markedly less native families, and from families of appreciably lower economic status, than is the case in California.

the child's personality and conduct, his interests, and habits of adjustment. An inventory of the child's assets, liabilities, and needs is then drawn up.

With this in mind, schools or agencies which seem likely to be able to meet the child's needs are corresponded with. When a tentative selection has been made of a school or agency, a social worker visits it, explains the child's needs, assures herself that the school or agency concerned (1) *can meet the child's needs*, and (2) understanding the child, *will make the effort* to meet his needs. The parent, or agency representative referring the case, is then brought together with a representative of the school or agency selected.

It is not to be assumed that because these cases are accepted for advisory service that they do not make demands upon the Clinic's time and personnel. The service given is demanding of much time. It is, however, a highly constructive, preventative type of work, typically undertaken at a time when the child is beginning to have difficulties of social adjustment but before these difficulties have involved him in appreciable emotional problems. When a school or agency has been found that can meet the child's needs, his difficulties of adjustment usually clear up.

The fact that the large part of advisory service was given where help was asked in locating a suitable school is interesting in light of the fact that in few instances was this request made by the school in which the child was located at the time the request was made. The requests came, almost uniformly, from parents or interested agencies. We again see reflected in this fact the school's lack of interest in the child's social adjustments and needs (so long as he does passing work). A periodic check-up on the adjustment of cases given advisory service is made over a five-year period.

Treatment service, on the other hand, involves not only a thorough study of the child and his situation, but psychiatric and social case-work service in the attempt to clear up the child's problems of social adjustment, and to deal with the emotional conditions under-

lying them. Treatment service brings to bear upon the child's difficulties the full resources of the Clinic. About forty per cent of the children accepted were accepted for treatment of some sort.

The variety of specific problems in which these children's difficulties expressed themselves ran the entire gamut of maladjustment—enuresis, masturbation, stuttering, hysteria, compulsions, mild obsessions, seclusiveness, excessive daydreaming and phantasy, temper tantrums, quarreling, fighting, defiance, running away from home, truancy, lying, stealing, obscene talk and writing obscene notes, sex delinquency, and the like. In all of these children, however, the behavior which led to the child's referral was clearly symptomatic of an underlying emotional disturbance.

The relative amount of treatment directed at changing the child's social situation, as against the amount of treatment directed at changing the child's attitudes and modes of reaction, varies greatly from case to case. It varies largely with two factors—the age of the child and the length of the period of maladjustment previous to the initiation of treatment. While the psychiatrist participates in every case (sees child and parents, and takes part in staff conferences), in cases where the child is young and the problem is recent (and consequently the emotional disturbance is not deeply rooted), treatment may be carried on largely by the social worker, and through the parents and other adults who enter into the child's relationships.

The majority of the problems treated by the Clinic are of long standing, however, and many of the children are well along into adolescence. As a result the psychiatrist frequently carries a large part of the treatment. Particularly is this true where the child's problems can be solved only after even more deep-seated personal problems have been solved for one or both parents. In such cases, much more of the treatment may be carried by the psychiatrist than by the social case worker.

The Clinic is concerned with research, as well as with guidance and treatment. It is now assembling a group of children, between

the ages of four and eight, and in so far as possible not treatment problems at the time of admission to the group, which it hopes to follow continuously into adult life. Yearly studies will be made of the child's physical growth, health, mental development, personal traits, family situation, adjustment to home, playmates, school, and the like. It is hoped that this material ultimately will yield biographies which will show the dynamics of the development and adjustment of gifted and talented individuals, so supplementing the research being done by Terman, Hollingworth, and others.

The Clinic feels no need of arguing the significance of its work. Gifted children are the nation's most precious resource. The conservation and utilization of these children will prove of far more importance, when our national history is written, than the conservation of forests, coal, fisheries, or oil. These children have an enormous contribution to make—in intellectual achievement and leadership—if they can realize their possibilities.

Yet along the way to maturity many of them are definitely wrecked, and perhaps a majority of them pass into adult life with handicaps which prevent their making anything like their possible contribution to our national life. There is no space here to discuss the difficulties of adjustment and self-realization faced by gifted children. Any one who doubts the reality of these difficulties will do well to read Terman's three volumes, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Leta Hollingworth's *Gifted Children, Their Nature and Nurture*, and Paynter and Blanchard, *The Educational Achievement of Problem Children*.

We, as a nation, are scandalously dissipating and wasting the resource represented by our gifted children. We spend annually millions on the feeble-minded, with no hope of return. Yet we are willing to invest little if anything in our gifted children, despite the fact that we might certainly expect an immeasurably rich return from such an investment.

SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY AND PHYSICAL DISABILITY

Psychiatric Approach to the Problem of Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped

LEON REZNIKOFF

AND

LILLIAN GLASS

New Jersey Rehabilitation Clinic

In 1920 the Federal Rehabilitation Act was passed through which national attention has been focused on the problems with which a physically disabled person is faced.

There are forty-four States now that extend services to the handicapped in guidance, training, vocational fitness, placement, and follow-up. Attempts are also made to correct the physical deformity through orthopedic surgery and the use of prosthetic and mechanical appliances

Among those disabled persons seeking rehabilitation services is seen a wide and varied range of potential capacity for adjustment to productive employment. They may be roughly put into these three groups:

1. Those who may become fully productive
2. Those who may become only partially productive
3. Those who will be unproductive and, therefore, dependent because of the preponderance of their liabilities as compared with their assets¹

The gauging and measuring of an applicant's possibilities and potentialities, assets and liabilities before he can be launched on his rehabilitation program requires a complete and thorough survey. Not only estimation of the exact degree of individual's physical incapacity is essential, but also a detailed study of his vocational leanings, personality traits, and reaction toward his disability and capacity for readjustment must be determined.

¹ H H Kessler, *The Crippled and the Disabled* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 337

A collective examination by experts, qualified in their own particular field of interest, has the most to offer, for by this means a composite view of the applicant can be obtained. Only by obtaining a consolidated point of view, can we eliminate the element of guesswork and error and give the client the fairest treatment. Such examination is a more rational procedure to follow than one or other of these methods, too often used for this purpose, that is, a single interview by a vocational examiner, a single medical examination, a superficial appraisal by a personnel representative.

A Diagnostic Clinic, offering a collective examination by all facilities at its disposal, has recently been innovated at the New Jersey Rehabilitation Commission, at Newark, N. J. The procedure and mechanics of the Clinic are, briefly, as follows:

After the applicant's initial interview by the vocational examiner, he is referred to the medical director for a physical examination. This physical examination is supplemented by a psychological and, then, psychiatric examination. A period of observation at the curative workshop is often required for certain types of cases, as an additional and important gauge of potentialities.

The Diagnostic Clinic meets once every two weeks. From two to five cases are presented at this Clinic. All the members of the vocational staff are present, as well as outsiders, who are frequently invited because of their interest in a particular case, general interest in the work, or wish to contribute of their own experience and knowledge. These visitors include members of social agencies, social workers, research workers, and others.

The vocational counselor, in charge of the case, reads a short synopsis of the client's personal record. This is followed by the reading of all other records, including the psychological, psychiatric, and medical. The client is then presented before the group. He is subject to interview and examination by each member present. After this oral group examination, the client is asked to withdraw and a general discussion takes place. The discussion is then terminated

and the entire group may determine the course of action to be followed.

This action may be one of several types: A further study may be required along psychiatric lines; further interviews may be required; samples of the individual's ability in the field of art, writing, handwork, and the like may be requested, etc. On the other hand, some definite conclusion may be reached with respect to the susceptibility to rehabilitation or a definite program of vocational training may be instituted.

Aside from certain definite conclusions, reached as a result of these "clinics," there has been a contribution of far-reaching value. A clearance of ideas, prevalent among the staff members and others interested in this work, has resulted in the stimulation of intelligent interest in what service can be rendered by the various staff members, a broadening in vision, and an increase of efficiency.

We can best illustrate the fallacy of relying on a single examination, necessarily of a one-sided nature, for the determination of employability by citing several cases taken at random from the records of the Rehabilitation Commission:

B. L. This young man, 30 years of age and single, was brought to our attention by a social-service agency. His physical disabilities were of an internal nature, not apparent to the passer-by, but of a personally annoying and uncomfortable nature which incapacitated him for laborious work or work requiring any kind of lifting strain that would increase the interabdominal pressure. The onset of his physical complaints occurred with an accident at 17 years of age. Since that time he "had had trouble with his large intestine and rectum for the past 13 years requiring operative procedure on twelve different occasions."

Psychological examination disclosed him to be of average intelligence, desirous of continuing his education, and attending night school for this purpose. He left the sixth grade of public school at the age of 14 to enter employment. Though cooperative and pleasant

during interview, the examiner detected abnormal misanthropical attitudes which demanded psychiatric study.

Many neurotic symptoms, consisting chiefly of fears and phobias, were found by the psychiatrist. It was apparent that the difficulties which he had encountered in connection with his accident and an unhappy and frustrated childhood have acted toward a maladjustment with his environment and an inability to get along with people.

Before putting this patient in industrial activities, it was the decision of the staff conference to allow this patient an opportunity of "finding himself," that is, gauging his ability to adapt himself to a work environment and learning new ways of adapting himself to his difficulties. Placed in the workshop, maintained by the Clinic, he has been rapidly improving. Under the understanding and sympathetic direction of the occupational therapist, he is now headed toward a vocation in which he is finding a great deal of satisfaction.

When this patient is discharged from the workshop as ready to enter employment or further employment training, he will be aided in contacting employer and making progress along these lines.

The following excerpt from a letter by this client, in which he describes the changes that have taken place in his life and the new outlook in life, follows:

With the lonely and discouraged feeling that has been my constant companion for the past several years, I waited in the workshop to be interviewed. And as I gazed about I secretly wondered what benefit any one could derive here. During the interview I was given very encouraging advice as to the headway I would make in printing, if I should show any ability for the trade. I was then taken to the printing department, introduced to the men there, and given my first assignment, which was to study the California type case. As days went by I was having very interesting times. And then, to my surprise, at the end of many a day I found myself in a depressed mood when I had to part from the companionship I had found in my work.

This young man has been in the workshop for a period of three months and has shown remarkable improvement. He will be ready

to enter the vocational division in a short time; and has demonstrated the ability to adjust to demands of such an environment.

B. C. This 20-year-old boy turned to the Rehabilitation Commission for help toward obtaining employment. The boy was the first of five children; his father did not seem to have much interest in his large family, was unable to direct the boy, has been always economically dependent, and is now living on the inadequate contribution of the Emergency Relief; the mother is a mental patient in a State institution. Physical examination disclosed this boy suffering from the residual effects of infantile paralysis, which he had suffered at the age of two years. At time of examination he showed "some minor defects and only a very slight limp which should incapacitate him very little in pursuit of life in which he may fit himself."

The boy had completed his high-school education and had determined a career as accountant to be his. Brought to the psychologist for confirmation of such objective, such a course was found entirely unsuited and was contra-indicated. Review of school history found that he had been graduated from high school the year before at the age of 19 years; had undertaken a commercial course; unable to grasp shorthand he had dropped that subject at the end of one year; and had found it necessary to repeat several subjects, such as science and history. His marks for the most part were only of borderline rating. This desire to be an "accountant" was uncovered as wishful thinking; he had little conception of the duties such a calling entailed and merely thought that such an occupation would take him out of the social plane at which he was living and place him on one more above that level. Psychological examination disclosed poor general average intelligence. Instability and poor orientation indicated need for psychiatric study.

The psychiatrist found that this boy had several emotional problems which were chiefly due to poor adjustment. He had been greatly worried about his psychosexual life and had many false ideas relative to that subject which the psychiatrist discussed with him and

invited him to come for further conferences. The contra-indication concerning accountancy was confirmed by the psychiatrist.

To effect some stabilization and discover vocational interests nearer to his real abilities, the boy was placed in the workshop for a period of observation. This proved his salvation. Placed at the printing press, he became interested and then expressed the desire to enter such training. Occasional talks with the director of the workshop launched at opportune occasions, the general mixing with others in the shop, and assignment and time discipline, all tended to create a stabilizing influence upon the haphazard and aimless existence which he had been leading.

He was discharged from the workshop to employment training in a small print shop. His interest and progressive attainment in the work enabled his vocational examiner to effect a placement in an all-round capacity in a one-man print shop. At this place he carries on the general office work, typing and bookkeeping, and does the printing while his employer might be out soliciting trade. He is now fairly well adjusted, happy at contributing his share on the overburdened finances of his family group, and a self-respecting entity of the community.

The following case is cited as illustrative of the care which must be assumed before rehabilitation decision is made:

J. L. This 19-year-old boy was referred to the Rehabilitation Commission by a State employment office. Physical examination found him suffering from the residual effects of a right-sided hemiplegia. The doctor denied plea for operative surgery with the decision that there was nothing to be gained by such a measure.

Further examination by the psychiatrist disclosed the boy to be suffering from an organic psychiatric disorder beside his physical disability. During the psychiatric examination the boy admitted that at the age of nine, that is, a year after the fall from the tree, which supposedly caused the hemiplegia, he developed an acute illness and stayed in bed for several months. During this acute illness at the age

of nine, he had definite double vision for two months. At present his speech is monotonous, his facial expression is rather stolid, he has a fine tremor of the left hand, and the tongue and his pupils react promptly to light but very sluggishly to accommodation. The above neurological signs together with definite history of acute illness with the diplopia at the age of nine and emotional instability with frequent crying spells quite definitely pointed to a post-encephalitis process. The psychiatrist concluded the patient unfit for ordinary physical rehabilitation and advised that he only be given some occupation for the purpose of supporting his morale, as a mental-hygiene measure.

A dull average intelligence with a Binet I.Q. of 84 (14-year level used as chronological age) was found by the psychologist. The boy gave history of graduation from high school. This was suspected by the psychologist as a false statement, but examiner was assured that this statement was correct. A check-up later confirmed the psychologist's suspicions, for his school graduation was permitted by school principal because of his disabilities and had little regard to merit or ability for earning such academic promotion.

The insistence with which this boy stormed the doors of the Rehabilitation Commission pointed to faulty or, rather, lack of guidance. He has been led to estimate his abilities to be those on par with the other children in the school, and was given further encouragement by a State employment office of ability to "get a job" if he came to the rehabilitation office. After complete and exhaustive study, the Diagnostic Clinic came to the decision that this boy was not amenable to rehabilitation and that he should be directed to some form of occupation only as a mental-hygiene measure. Because of the patient's multiple disabilities, relatively low intelligence, and indicated psychiatric disorder as progressive one, he was referred to the Department of Institutions and Agencies for consideration of placement in some protected environment.

Had the boy's limited capacity for adapting himself not been

known, he would have been accepted for rehabilitation. Entered on the active list of the vocational examiner, this boy might have succeeded in depriving several worth-while and promising cases of time and service, not to mention expenditures; his own illusion as to his ability for competing with others would have been encouraged still further by the active interest extended toward him; and finally the progressive nature of his ailment might have demanded institutionalization. This would have been a waste of effort, expended in the wrong direction because of ignorance and incomplete examination. Here, again, psychiatric approach employed by this diagnostic Clinic displayed its value.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED
BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, published monthly from September to May, inclusive,
at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1936

State of New York }
County of New York } ss

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, <i>The Journal of Educational Sociology</i>	. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Editor, B. George Payne	. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Jean B. Barr	. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

<i>The Journal of Educational Sociology, Inc.</i>	. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
B. George Payne	. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders, who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner, and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her

JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September 1936

W. K. ACKERMAN

My commission expires March 30, 1938

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology, and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed

EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION UPON THE FAMILY

This study was undertaken under the direction of Professor E. W. Burgess of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago and Paul Schroeder, Director of the Institute of Juvenile Research of Chicago. The interviewer was Katherine H. Ranck of the Institute, and the research assistant who has analyzed the material and prepared the report was Ruth Shonle Cavan.¹

The purpose of the study was to answer the question: What effect has the depression had upon a random selection of families, in the light of the personal and family organization prior to the depression? (The families were chosen consecutively from those represented in the records of the Institute during certain months prior to the depression.)

The study was organized as follows: Families which had had their first contact with the Institute during the months immediately preceding the depression were reinterviewed during 1935–1936. The material therefore consists of information upon the family during 1928 or 1929 and during 1935 or 1936. For some cases there is material covering the entire period from 1928 to 1936. For all cases that have received charitable aid during this period the record of the relief agency was read. The study is limited to one hundred families.

The analysis consists of a grouping of families according to the effect of the depression and a comparative discussion of such items as economic adjustment of various members of the family, marital relations, personal organization of various members, family organization, reactions to the depression, to relief, to the New Deal.

The study was completed in manuscript form in February 1936.

¹ This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Ruth Shonle Cavan.

THE CITY AND THE PRIMARY GROUP

Professor M. Wesley Roper of the Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia, Kansas, has recently completed a study of the primary group in the city. He has considered the growth of the city in its effects upon the primary group and has discussed the decline in the stability of primary group relationships in the urban environment. He has dealt with such characteristics as proximity and intimacy in the group and has described the effects of the growth of the acquaintance horizon through urban institutions. Home and leisure-time contacts are discussed in relation to the urban environment and primary group control. The decline of parental influence is pointed out and the growing conflict between formal and informal control is emphasized. The study is concluded by a consideration of the effect of the urban community on personality. Dr. Roper has surveyed the literature in this field and has used the statistical, ecological, and case-study methods in obtaining his results. Family interviews and compositions of children about themselves are used.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY RESEARCHES

Several interesting research projects are being carried on at Washington University (St. Louis) under the general supervision of Professor Stuart A. Queen of the department of sociology of that institution.²

The chief of these is the assembling of data through which to arrive at a more adequate conception of the ecology of the City of St. Louis. This is being carried on with the collaboration of Professor Ralph C. Fletcher and Mr. Harry L. Hornback. A mass of statistical data has been assembled and organized in spatial relationships. A monograph has been produced, based on these materials, entitled *Social Statistics of St. Louis by Census Tracts*.

Other related researches in which graduate students have participated have included a study of population mobility, detailed studies of local areas within metropolitan St. Louis, and a land-use survey (with the collaboration of Professor L. F. Thomas of the department of geography).

A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY

The New Jersey Legislature has recently made provision for the appointment of a commission of three to study the causes of juvenile

² This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Professor Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

delinquency. The Governor has named on that commission William James Ellis, Commissioner of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Benjamin F. Turner, Mayor of Passaic, and Dr Thomas W. Hopkins, Director of the Bureau of Special Service in Jersey City.

LEISURE AS DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL CONTROL

Mr. Leon Mones of Newark, N. J., is carrying on a study which is an attempt through psycho-social analysis to appraise leisure as a force and technique in democratic social control. The introductory discussion concerns the fallacy of regarding leisure as an individual's private enterprise, and presents the conception of leisure as a social resultant and institution, conditioned by and in turn conditioning the entire social pattern. The thesis follows that since a democracy is characterized by a plurality and mutuality of group life, leisure within a democracy must necessarily be the social enterprises relevant and intimate to the constituent groups. The mechanics of social control as they function to direct social change within a democracy are next described, and leisure is defined in its relation to such controls as property, cultural symbols, and leadership. The Reconstruction Movement in Judaism is now analyzed to illustrate the process by which a group within a democracy may seek to control its social identity by adopting such leisure techniques as the Jewish Center Movement in place of institutions of formal education. After final evidence that either structural or functional classifications of leisure must be effected within a social frame of reference, the conclusion is reached that leisure, if it is to effect valid social control, must be the cooperative concern of organized, strategic, and activating communities, planning for leisure as part of integrated community living.

CONSTRUCTION AND EVALUATION OF DELINQUENCY TESTS^a

In order to further the progress of finding potentially delinquent boys before actual trouble arises, fifteen tests were constructed and given to boys in seventeen cooperating institutions. On the basis of the critical ratio, nine tests were found to be valid and seven could be used in combining scores for the discovery of potential delinquents.

For this validation 14,461 scores were obtained from the following sources: four schools in relatively delinquency-free areas, five schools in

^a A statement by H. K. Moore, Ph D., Thomas A. Edison School, Cleveland, Ohio. Copies of the tests may be obtained by addressing the secretary to the faculty of the Graduate School. A copy of the dissertation is available through interlibrary loan.

delinquency areas, a special school, and seven juvenile correctional institutions scattered from Connecticut to California.

The individual tests were validated by the significance of the differences among these four groups after extraneous factors had been held equivalent by the matching of over four hundred boys on the basis of race, age, intelligence quotient, school grade, and, whenever practicable, nationality of ancestors.

The central tendencies and variabilities by ages for all cases tended to confirm the validity of the tests. In their present form, however, they probably should not be used above the junior high school.

The seven stronger blanks were combined to find a more accurate estimate of the placement of individual white boys in respect to their delinquency or nondelinquency. Steps in determining this optimum placement included: on the basis of twenty-two criteria selecting the best of six methods for combining the tests; locating the score below which the active or potential delinquents were most likely to be found; testing the reasonableness of the results by comparisons with selected sociological and delinquency data. Apparently, as many as 52 to 71 per cent of the delinquents below 190 months of age were selected by this procedure.

The chief contribution of the study, however, lies in the character of the individual tests, the methods of disguise, the filtering out of the emotional concomitants of supposed intellectual responses, obtaining delinquency scores from blanks which purported to be vocational tests, and in extending the measurement of factors related to delinquency to mental areas not previously included in such tests in this form. Foremost in this respect is the blank called "Editing a Newspaper (F₁)" in which delinquents rated five items as significantly more important and interesting than did other boys.

BOOK REVIEWS

Let the Child Draw: An Experiment in Culture Building, by VAN DEARING PERRINE. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1936, 88 pages.

This book should be in the hands of every parent and every teacher of art. It proposes that the child's drawing shall be the expression of impulse from within, rather than conformity to a standard from without. It points out that if the child is allowed this expression in drawing, his drawing becomes a source of personal development and satisfaction to himself, as well as an avenue of understanding the child to parent and teacher. Interestingly illustrated, with discussion of the illustrations. Adults to whom "drawing" meant copying leaves, vases, or apples will wish they might start over again.

Conference on Three Special Problems in Guidance (A Panel Discussion), under department of psychology, Fordham University Graduate School. New York: Fordham University Press, 1936 pages.

In this volume there is gathered all of the discussion of three special problems of guidance: I, Professional Standards of Guidance; II, Planning Occupational Futures; III, The Economic Problems Group. This was the result of a symposium on the problem held at Fordham University on December 7, 1934. The members of the panel are all outstanding persons in this field and the problems were approached from the practical angle. Despite a usual amount of verbiage, there is a wealth of fine material presented and also the material presents varying angles of foremost educators. Two sections are exceptionally good, one dealing with, "What type of person should be selected for guidance work?" and the other, "How can a guidance program make effective contributions to curriculum revision?" Those concerned with guidance will find the volume of distinct value.

Our America: A Survey of Contemporary America as Exemplified in the Lives and Achievements of Twenty-Four Men and Women Drawn from Representative Fields, by ADOLPH GILLIS AND ROLAND KETCHUM. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936, 428 pages.

This high-school textbook provides considerable material on the contemporary scene in its collection of biographical essays about living men and women more or less actively identified "with current movements in the economic, social, and cultural fields." They are supposed to embody and set forth in more attractive fashion for our youth "the ideals of our democratic system." The subjects have been selected for their "courage, intelligence, initiative," and devotion to experimentation. They are regarded as "outstanding exponents of our civilization" and include twenty men and four women. In addition to Henry Ford, Francis Perkins, John Dewey, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Charles Evans Hughes are such personalities as Henry Louis Mencken, characterized as "Watchdog of Liberty," Charles Joseph Finger, "Assimilated American," Heywood Broun, "Columnist at Large," and Seth Parker "Servant of Souls."

Society in Action: A Guide for the Social Studies, by HELEN HALTER, book lists in collaboration with Thelma Eaton. The Inor Unit Series, Forest E. Long, editor. New York: Inor Publishing Company, 1936, 336 pages.

This "guide" is apparently planned for the junior-high-school grades. It provides a flexible scheme of units, so in number, from which teacher or group may select at will those deemed most interesting and important. It is an organization stressing the community idea. In selecting the units the emphasis is essentially on "the present social scene" with inconsequential excursions into the past. Many of the topics, with a slight change in phrasing, are suggestive of "the elements of community welfare" propounded in 1915. The "here and now" become all important in this selection of units, and the particular method offered for resolving this present-day world is the group-discussion method for which the author has provided a series of suggestive questions in connection with each unit.

From Then Until Now: Old World Background of Our Civilization, by JOHN T. GREENAN AND LOUISE COTTRELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936, 421 pages.

An attempt to provide a treatment of history, geography, and civics which shall provide for "a gradual transition from the story history of the intermediate grades to the more formal history of the junior and senior

high school." The book is organized into twelve units, each of which is concerned with a people or country, or group of countries, which have contributed to our civilization beginning with primitive peoples and ending with the British Commonwealth of Nations. "The political story is brought up to date." The authors rely upon the use of simple language and developing each unit around a particular personality to attain the teaching objective already noted

Our American Heritage, by LILLIAN S. COYLE AND WALTER P. EVANS.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936, 717 pages.

A junior-high-school textbook designed to meet the conditions of an activity program, and organized into seven units which are again subdivided into from four to nine topics. A minimum of text matter is provided with the idea that this will be supplemented through the references and other aids supplied throughout the volume. It purports to be a "fusion" of history, civics, and geography, pitched to pupil level. In attempting to compress so much within the page limit set the authors have been forced into broad generalizations which are likely to have little meaning for the young student. Much of the historical background has been sacrificed to emphasize the citizenship aspect of our heritage.

Southern Regions of the United States, by HOWARD W. ODUM.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936, 664 pages.

The author of this comprehensive volume has utilized more than seven hundred varied indices and six hundred maps and tables in a first attempt to present a realistic and comprehensive picturization of the southern regional culture. He has, moreover, presented this picture in such a way as to indicate the place of the southern regions in the nation and to explain the dramatic struggle of a large and powerful segment of the American people for mastery over an environment capable of producing a superior civilization, yet so conditioned by complexity of culture and existing handicaps as to make the future development problematical.

The author attempts and I believe accomplishes to an unusual degree two things; namely, first, he points toward a greater realization of the inherent capacities of the southern regions, and indicates ways and means of bridging the chasm between the superabundance of physical and human resources as potentialities and the actualities of technical deficiencies

in their development and waste in their use; and, second, he indicates the possibility of a more effective reintegration of the southern regions into the national picture and thereby toward a larger regional contribution to national culture and unity.

The book demands a place in the library of every serious educator

Our Changing Government, by SAMUEL STEINBURG AND LUCIAN LAMM. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1936, 541 pages.

In recent years various writers have attempted to deal with the problems of government as it has been affected by the changed social conditions and our complex industrial order. These social and industrial changes have created new governmental problems and required new textual treatment. The authors have attempted rather successfully to present the structure and functions of government for high-school students in the light of social changes. The book is conventional in the topics treated, but unique in the method of treatment. This makes the text one of high value for high-school students.

The Activity Program, by A. GORDON MELVIN. New York: John Day in association with Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936, 275 pages.

In the introductory chapter the author briefly reveals the spirit underlying the activity program. Throughout the volume scintillating jibes at traditional practice contrast the old and the new.

The body of the volume contains worthy accounts of teaching patterns in specific units and activity programs. Considerable attention is given to conduct goals ranging from the kindergarten through the ninth grade. A large area of practical suggestions covering "realms" of learning (activity), for various age levels, is outlined by the author. He likewise gives us an abundance of direction in planning, initiating, and conducting activity programs. Considerable space is given to illustrative content material. Taken all in all, Dr. Melvin has contributed a practical volume for classroom teachers interested in actually trying out the activity program. It is a bit unfortunate that the publishers have been extravagant in their all-inclusive claims for this book. While it is a worthy contribution to the field, neither the confines of this book nor any other has yet been able to give us the complete picture, all the answers to all the questions.

Control in Human Societies, by JEROME DOWD. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, 475 pages.

This book, like many of the recent sociological works, such as Chapin's *Cultural Change*, and in line with the present emphasis of the younger school of sociological writers, makes a factual research approach to the study of control in human societies. The author has successfully attempted an analysis of the elementary factors and processes which accompany and influence the evolution of human societies. The disintegration of many of the agencies of the social life that have served effectively to control human behavior in the less complex social organization of the past makes this publication timely and of significance for the educator concerned with the problem of educational reconstruction.

The Methodology of Educational Research, by CARTER V. GOOD, A. S. BARR, AND DOUGLAS E. SCATES. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, 882 pages.

The attempt of the authors of this book has been to present a comprehensive treatment of the methodology of educational research which offers an integration of the several methods of research into one inclusive pattern. The book is designed for research workers, as a textbook for classes in research, and for teachers and administrators who are interested in the experimental study of education. The authors performed their job in a highly satisfactory manner, and have made one departure from the conventional textbook on educational research that is highly gratifying to the sociologist. They have actually taken account of the fact that the scientific sociologists of the country are producing materials and methods that must be taken into account if the educational researcher is to perform his task adequately. They have not gone very far, but so much farther than others that they have made a distinct contribution.

The Social Studies Curriculum, by the Department of Superintendence. Washington, D. C.: The National Education Association of the United States, 1936, 478 pages.

Probably the most vital problem with which educators are concerned at the present time is the social-studies curriculum in the elementary and secondary schools. Many books have been written and several committees

have made reports in recent years on one or another aspect of the social studies and their place in the curriculum. The fourteenth yearbook of the Department of Superintendence is a valuable contribution both to the literature on the curriculum and on the social studies, and has the value of coming nearer to a solution of the problem of the educator concerned with the practical problems of school administration than any of the studies so far published.

The Story of Instruction. the Beginnings, by ERNEST CARROLL MOORE. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1936, 375 pages.

The story begins with ancient Sparta but the scene soon shifts to Athens with more than half the narrative concerning itself with the ups and downs of this unique city. The author allows the Greek writers themselves "to tell their own story" wherever practicable. The concluding chapter of 75 pages on Rome leaves the reader even more impressed with the legacy of Greece to her successors. This book represents an entirely new pattern for presenting this portion of the history of education. Education is not regarded as something separate and apart but is so closely bound up with the developments of these centuries, so much a part of them as to make the reader almost unconscious of its presence. It is a part and parcel of living. To paraphrase the author, it is the problem of finding ways and means of living well.

Nature Peoples, Communities of Men, Peoples and Countries, Volumes two, three, and four of *Man and His Changing Society*. The Rugg Social Science Series, by HAROLD RUGG AND LOUISE KRUEGER. New York: Ginn and Company, 1936, 348 pages, 392 pages, 482 pages.

These are the first volumes to appear of a series of eight social-science units for the elementary grades (two for each grade beginning with the third), designed to round out the program projected by Dr. Rugg some years ago for the junior high school. These new units are an attempt to provide a background for the earlier volumes. There was no hint of the proposed scheme when the earlier volumes were published. It would appear that the authors have worked backwards, rather than forwards, in launching their proposed curriculum for the nine school years involved.

Native Peoples is the second unit (for the second half of grade three). In spite of the pronouncements of the Commission on the Social Studies, the other titles are designed for grade four. The authors persist in conceiving of history, geography, political science, et al, as a kind of composite, where it is only necessary now and then to isolate such relationships as time and space, and they are forthwith readily appreciated and understood. The authors have taken many of the areas already exploited in these and other grades and given them a more or less arbitrary place in a continuous program. Their results, as embodied in these volumes, will be very much questioned by those actually in contact with the immature minds of these grades.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Biology and Human Behavior*, by MARK GRAUBARD New York: Tomorrow Publishers.
- Cash Relief*, by JOANNA C. COLCORD. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Development of Sociology*, by FLOYD NELSON HOUSE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Educational, Psychological and Personality Tests of 1933, 1934 and 1935*, by OSCAR K. BUROS. New Brunswick: School of Education, Rutgers University.
- Evaluative Research in Social Work*, by ELEANOR T. GLUECK. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Family Encounters the Depression*, by ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Geographic Pattern of Mankind*, by JOHN E. POMFRET. New York: D Appleton-Century Company.
- Hotel Life*, by NORMAN S. HAYNER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Human Genetics and Its Social Import*, by S. J. HOLMES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Individual Satisfaction in Adult Education*, by OLIVE O. VAN HORN. New York: New York Adult Education Council, Inc.
- Job Hunting and Getting*, by CLARK BELDEN. Boston: L. C. Page and Company.
- Lawrence, The Arabian Knight*, by HARRY IRVING SHUMWAY. Boston: L. C. Page and Company.

Music in Institutions, by WILLIAM VAN DE WALL. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

One Summer, by MARTIN GALL. New York: Viking Press.

Outline for Study of Children in Schools, by EDNA W. BAILEY, ANITA D LATON, AND ELIZABETH L. BISHOP. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Principles and Practices of Recreational Therapy for the Mentally Ill, by JOHN EISELE DAVIS. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, Inc.

Principles of Adolescent Psychology, by EDMUND S. CONKLIN. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Principles of Elementary Education, by HERBERT G. LULL. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.

Principles of Topological Psychology, by KURT LEWIN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Psychology and the Promethean Will, by WILLIAM H. SHELDON. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Psychology of Feeling and Emotion, by CHRISTIAN A. RUCKMICK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Psychology of Social Norms, by MUZAFER SHERIF. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child, by JOHN J. B. MORGAN. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Readings in Mental Hygiene, edited by ERNEST R. GROVES AND PHYLLIS BLANCHARD. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Re-Establishment of the Indians in Their Pueblo Life Through the Revival of Their Traditional Crafts, by HENRIETTE K. BURTON. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Remedial and Corrective Instruction in Reading, by JAMES MAURICE MCCALLISTER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

Roots of America, by CHARLES MORROW WILSON. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company.

Rural Sociology, by JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE. New York: The Macmillan Company.

School in American Society, by S. HOWARD PATTERSON, ERNEST A. CHOATE, AND EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER. Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company.

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THE MOTION PICTURE: ITS NATURE AND SCOPE

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The motion picture holds great interest for the sociologist because its social implications extend into so many and such varied fields. To understand its educational and sociological significance, however, one must consider the nature of the art which it represents.

The motion picture as an art form has had an amazing history during the short period of its development. Yet the question has been raised as to whether it is an art at all or merely an industry. A leading New York exhibitor, Howard S. Cullman, has advanced the hypothesis that the motion picture is manufactured primarily for entertainment which will sell to a large public of a not-too-high grade intelligence and that it cannot be seriously considered as art. Leading motion-picture critics, on the other hand, such as Iris Barry, Curator of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, and Julien Levy of the Levy Art Galleries, believe that the motion picture at its best is a form of creative expression which takes its place in the family of the fine arts.

No matter how the motion picture may be exploited in the entertainment field, however, it cannot be gainsaid that it has developed from crude beginnings to a high degree of technical perfection of photography and direction in Hollywood and in other film-

producing centers of the world. It does present a medium that, unhindered, lends itself admirably to the creative impulse. The motion picture of the silent days achieved a high state of perfection in the field of pantomime. With the coming of sound there was a period of confusion until the new and added technique had been mastered. Sound and dialogue, originally exploited for their novelty, have come gradually to occupy their place in proper perspective. The advent of color has introduced a new problem, but it is likely that color also will be subordinated eventually to the purpose of obtaining a total effect and will become merely an additional tool of the director, who as the major artist synthesizes the various materials of the cinema as he conceives it.

It is certain that motion pictures may make a unique contribution to art that cannot be made in any other medium of human expression. The essence of cinematic art lies in the fluidity and untrammelled movement of the materials which it presents. While it is true that action is presented on the stage of the legitimate theater, such action is hampered by the demands of time and space. The cinema, on the other hand, is unrestricted either by time or space, it has a tremendous advantage in being able to move the spectator with the camera and so the artist can paint his picture upon the screen with epic sweeps of the brush and with a perspective denied the legitimate drama. Rapidity of movement through space, vastness of scene, penetration of the earth, the sea, and the sky, human drama in heroic proportions are possible and can be effectively accomplished by the combined arts of the cinema. But the creative imagination does not stop here. It is possible in the cinema to transcend the material into realms of fantasy which other forms of art find it much more difficult to present. While it is true that ghosts can be shown on the stage, the illusion is much less perfect. In motion pictures "the ghost goes west" and he may even be shipped along with his castle in a transatlantic liner without destroying the illusion. The stage cannot present a drama of "the invisible man." In motion pic-

tures a man can leave his body and travel far afield over the earth or into a land of dreams. Psychological effects and subtle changes in atmosphere can be created more effectively and with less difficulty than in literature, painting, and the legitimate drama, provided of course that the director is a real artist. Even "the secrets of the soul" can be bared and "the mechanics of the brain" elucidated.

One of the most interesting fields, which is peculiarly the province of the motion picture, is that of animation. The animated cartoon is universally popular because of the ease with which the imagination of the artist is given free reign to carry his audience into the utmost realms of fancy and absurdity. Yet animation owes much of its delightful appeal to the vividness with which it depicts the common elements of human nature and the foibles of mankind, whether under the guise of household pets, barnyard animals, or inanimate objects which are given a chance to express themselves.

The cinematic qualities to which I have referred above are well illustrated in a variety of films of many nations. Rapid movement through space, which has been called *pure cinema* because it can only be presented so effectively in the motion picture, is well exemplified in the American "western" with its splendid horses galloping headlong over mountains and across the plains, with its stage-coaches and trains rushing madly along in adventurous settings, with its Indians on the warpath, and its "broncho-busting" and "steer-roping" cowboys, and with its mass movements of bison, sheep, cattle, and horses. Out of the earlier "westerns" have come such epics as *The Iron Horse*, *The Covered Wagon*, and *Cimarron*, which have presented in heroic fashion the mass movements of people in the settling of the West.

Other illustrations of qualities which have enabled the cinema to distinguish itself from other art forms may be cited: the fast-moving legions of the Ku Klux Klan in *The Birth of a Nation*; the broad canvas and the sweeping movement of the lancers in *Lives of a Bengal Lancer*; the heroic charges of men and horses in the Rus-

sian *Chapayev*, the Indian battles of *The Texas Rangers* and *The Last of the Mohicans*; warfare, new and old, on land and on sea, in innumerable films, topped by *Thunder in the East* (formerly called "The Battle") and *All Quiet on the Western Front*, the horse race as presented in many pictures and notably in Frank Capra's *Broadway Bill*, the massacre on the great staircase in the Russian *Potemkin*, a masterpiece of cinematic art, the fluid images and psychological atmosphere of John Ford's *The Informer*, universally acclaimed as the best picture of 1935, the handling of crowds and mobs in such pictures as *Tale of Two Cities* and *Fury*, and in many Russian pictures; the odysseys of ships in such films as those of Alan Villiers and *Mutiny on the Bounty*, *Treasure Island*, and other photoplays with innumerable storms at sea, the conquest of the sky exemplified in an endless cycle of airplane pictures, representing activity of a scope impossible of such realistic presentation in any other form of art; and the vast booming of the sea in *Man of Aran*, the best picture of 1934. All these pictures have elements in them which no other form of art can catch and transmit, elements which represent the peculiar province of the motion picture.

In the upper reaches of cinematic art we have the work of the *avant-garde* in Europe and the so-called "abstract film," exemplified in such experimental works as *The Fall of the House of Usher* and *Lot in Sodom*. Then we have such enigmas as Jean Cocteau's *The Blood of a Poet*, impenetrable to the common mind, and a number of surrealist films produced for the most part in France. Certain classic films stand out in the history of the motion picture as representing definite qualities or trends, *viz*, *Shattered* represents the trend toward realism, while *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, a stylistic masterpiece, has had a profound influence in the development of fantasy. *The Passion of Jeanne d'Arc*, among other things, stands for the development of the close-up and the interpretation of past history without attempting its literal reënactment.

Another technique of the motion picture, which gives it an added advantage over other and more static forms of art, is what is commonly known among technicians as *montage*, the art of contrasting images and moods upon the screen. No stage drama, no literature, no painting, no sculpture—perhaps only music—can rival the cinema in the reproduction of a rapid succession of contrasting images which are capable of presenting so much meaning to the human mind in such short space. The Russians were past masters in the use of montage, and the whole cinematic world has followed them. In some cases these contrasting images are fluid, flow into each other in beautiful melting dissolves as in *Lot in Sodom*, in others they are staccato as in *Metropolis*. The economy of these fleeting, momentary images is great in telling a story or creating a mood because they act as symbols rooted in common experience (collective representations), quickly grasped by the human mind and effective in creating a totality of impression.

With these brief and sketchy observations on the nature of the cinema as an art, we turn to the scope of the motion picture.

Paul Rotha in his beautifully illustrated book (reviewed elsewhere in this issue), *Movie Parade*,¹ has classified the films under the following categories:

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| I. <i>Films of Fiction</i> | Modern |
| 1. <i>Adventure and melodrama</i> | Costume |
| Early films and serials | Musical |
| Westerns | 4 <i>Historical and chronicle</i> |
| Crime and gangster | 5 <i>Fantasy</i> |
| Adventure in distant lands | Folk tales and sagas |
| 2 <i>Comedy</i> | Prophecy |
| Slapstick | Macabre |
| Comedy of manners | 6 <i>Drama</i> |
| Satire | Personal stories |
| 3 <i>Romance</i> | Sociological |

¹ Paul Rotha, *Movie Parade* (London: The Studio, Ltd., 1936)

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|-----------------------------------|---|
| 7. <i>Epic</i> | 3 Instructional films |
| II. <i>Films of Fact</i> | 4 Documentary |
| 1. Newsreel, record, and magazine | III. <i>Avant-Garde and Trick Films</i> |
| 2. Travel films | 1. <i>Avant-garde</i> |
| | 2. Trick films |

While this classification must be altered for educational and sociological purposes, it does present an interesting conception of the scope of motion pictures from the standpoint of the cinema critic and historian, and it reveals the widely diverse fields in which motion-picture production is active.

The social and educational significance even of the films of fiction listed in the various categories above is very great. These pictures are seen by from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000 people weekly in the United States alone and the weekly world audience has been estimated at 250,000,000 people. The entertainment film is unquestionably one of the greatest educational and social influences of modern times. This has been demonstrated by the Payne Fund researches carried on under the auspices of the Motion Picture Research Council.² These studies have indicated the profound effect of the entertainment film on the knowledge content, the emotions, the social attitudes, and the behavior of children. Yet educators have been slow to grasp the implications of these findings and to relate the theater-shown film to curricular and extracurricular activities.

Recently certain movements have got under way which give promise that the schools may finally awaken to these responsibilities and opportunities. These movements are of two types: (1) to introduce motion-picture appreciation into the curriculum and (2) to develop extracurricular activities capitalizing the interest of the pupil in the theater-shown film.

² Published by the Macmillan Company, New York, in a series of volumes under the general caption, *Motion Pictures and Youth: The Payne Fund Studies*, W. W. Charters, Chairman. The best summary of the results of the studies is W. W. Charters's brief monograph, *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary* (paper backs) (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936).

The movement for photoplay appreciation as a regular part of the curriculum has been given impetus by the interest of the Committee on Photoplay Appreciation of the National Council of the Teachers of English, and more recently by the activities of the Motion Picture Committee of the Department of Secondary Education of the National Education Association, under the Chairmanship of William Lewin, author of *Photoplay Appreciation in American High Schools*.⁸ Many secondary schools in the United States are now introducing regular units on photoplay appreciation in their English classes. To provide study material for these units a series of Educational and Recreational Guides⁹ are being published regularly as new photoplays of special interest in the fields of literature, history, geography, science, and other school subjects are released. Guides already published have dealt with such productions as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Tale of Two Cities*, *Mutiny on the Bounty*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Perfect Tribute*, *Anna Karenina*, etc. Forthcoming guides will discuss such pictures as *Marie Antoinette*, *The Good Earth*, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, etc.¹⁰ The pupils are encouraged to read the books before seeing the photoplays and in this way their interest in schoolwork is motivated by their universal enthusiasm for motion pictures and they are taught to appreciate and patronize photoplays which are socially and artistically adequate.

The second important movement in which educators are seeking to capitalize the interest of children in theater-shown films is represented in the development of school photoplay clubs. These

⁸ Published as English Monograph No. 2 by the National Council of the Teachers of English, 212 West 68th Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1934

⁹ Published by Educational and Recreational Guides, Inc., 125 Lincoln Avenue, Newark, New Jersey

¹⁰ Among the forthcoming pictures which are of particular interest in this connection are *Tom Sawyer*, *Anthony Adverse*, *Captains Courageous*, *Camille*, *Charge of the Light Brigade*, *Come and Get It* (Edna Ferber), *Danton*, *Dodsworth*, *Garden of Allah* (all color), *Green Pastures*, *Joan of Arc*, *Kim*, *Last of the Mohicans*, *Lost Horizon*, *Madame Curie*, *Maid of Salem*, *The Plainsman*, *Rembrandt*, *The Prince and the Pauper*, *Ramona* (all color), *Valley Forge*, and *Winterset*.

clubs take many names such as the Hamilton Reviewers, the McKee Junior Motion Picture Council, the Textile Moviegoers, the Central Photoplay Club, the Lincoln Cinema Club, etc. Successful clubs are carried on in grade as well as high schools.⁶ Their activities are many and varied but in general they tend to emphasize either reviewing, discussing, and rating pictures, or making their own motion pictures on 16 mm. films. Some clubs combine both activities, and the organization and program of one of these groups are described as follows by two students, Robert Marsolini, the club's president, and Irving Limkov, vice-president:

The Photoplay Club of Central High School, under the faculty sponsorship of Alexander B. Lewis⁷ of the English department, focuses the members' attention on motion pictures as a social influence and sets in motion forces that will permanently improve the quality of entertainment and education which it provides. It aims to accomplish this in two ways (1) to encourage film appreciation, (2) to promote the knowledge of film-making, thus to foster a hobby

To encourage the film appreciation, discussion periods are held every Monday. At this meeting interesting films are talked about and criticized. The fact that a picture has been acclaimed by the critics or has won a national award does not mean that it passes the judgment of the members of the Photoplay Club. Each Friday ten members are chosen to go to the Branford Theater, and they are given a printed blank on which to record their judgment of the pictures. These blanks are also used at the discussion meetings.

In order to promote film-making, all work in photography, editing, and titling is done by the members of the Club. Every department in the school is benefiting by the Photoplay Club because the resources of all departments are utilized in picture making.

The Club has joined several organizations which are of great importance and help to it. The Amateur Cinema League provides the Club with

⁶ For example, in Public School 217, Brooklyn, New York. Details with regard to the operation of this and other school clubs will be sent by the writer. Address: Frederic M. Thrasher, Technical Director, Metropolitan Motion Picture Council, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

⁷ Alexander B. Lewis and John A. Deady, technical adviser of the Central High School Photoplay Club, have described the work of the club more fully in an article, "The Camera in School," *Movie Makers* magazine, September 1936, p. 381 ff.

technical knowledge. New ideas in splicing, editing, and also photography which are of great advantage to the Club are sent by the League.

The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures furnishes the Club with information about latest pictures released. This report criticizes and grades the pictures into three groups; namely, pictures for juveniles, adults, and the entire family. This statement also aids the members to state their opinions at the discussion meetings. It is indeed a very valuable thing to be affiliated as a 4-Star Club with the National Board of Review. We have called on this organization a number of times for advice and have always been generously helped.

In the activity section of our Photoplay Club, a difference of interest was found to exist between the male and female members. The boys were interested almost entirely in the production of a film, while the girls, though interested in production, tended to lean toward the appreciation of a picture. Therefore, a plan was formed whereby all boys were assigned to technical work while girls were given the opportunity to preview pictures at local theaters. However, there were some who liked to do both, so to them the privileges were widened to include other than their allotted activities. Consequently no one was doing something he did not enjoy participating in. In the filming of a picture, a suitable plot had to be found; therefore, a scenario committee was appointed to find the ideal story without too much dialogue. Incidentally, our scenario committee has written a story about safe driving and walking, which when completed will be shown in secondary schools of New Jersey.

After the scenario is finished, the necessary actors and actresses are selected and then the story is filmed. However, our best work to date has been our picture for the Welfare Federation's drive for funds during the Community Chest period. The film was finished only after much work, sometimes the boys working until ten and eleven at night. When completed, the picture was presented to the Federation in the Mosque Theater where it was viewed by some three thousand workers of the organization, among whom was the Mayor of Newark. The film was enthusiastically received and warmly praised by all. In addition to organized stories, newsreels, football games, and open-air exercises are photographed and presented to the students at general assemblies.

The members make their own titles and have made their own editing board. Three of the members recently completed a "dolly" which is used by the photographer when he wishes to move toward the subject being shot. The boys study angles for shots, learn how to run the projector suc-

cessfully, and operate a stereopticon. Editing is taught to all by the older members

The girls, of course, partake in some of this work, but usually care more for making scrapbooks, retelling plots at discussion meetings, studying professional costuming, and comparing their score sheets with newspaper criticisms.

When it is all summarized, the work of such a club is interesting, educational, constructive, and fertilizes the good taste and the ability to select films, besides aiding in the broadening of the student's powers of judgment and bringing out hidden qualities that otherwise would have been lost

A large number of school photoplay clubs throughout the United States have become affiliated in a National Organization of 4-Star Clubs.

The affiliated clubs receive the monthly bulletin, *4-Star Final*, with news from other clubs functioning throughout the country, a short digest of the best pictures of the month, suggested projects for club work, contests, and fan news. Arrangements have been made for special 4-Star subscription rates to magazines which would be helpful in club work, as well as arrangements for club-sponsored showings of foreign-language films (with which the school foreign-language clubs are invited to cooperate), unusual films not generally shown in commercial theaters, important pictures of the past, etc., which the clubs find interesting as well as beneficial. A national "make your own movies" contest is being developed and all help possible as well as suggestions will be given to clubs who enter. *Scholastic Magazine*, a national high-school weekly, will carry 4-Star Club news from time to time and also outstanding reviews of pictures by members of the affiliated clubs.⁸

Many of the photoplays seen have moral lessons in them that may well be discussed by students with their teachers and thus made the basis of character-education projects. This possibility has been sensed by educators from time to time and a few years ago there was

⁸ For full details about how to organize a photoplay club and how to become affiliated with this national organization, write to Miss Patricia Hagan, National Association of 4-Star Clubs, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

formed the Committee on Social Values in Motion Pictures.⁹ Working with the cooperation of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, the Committee finally developed a program of excerpting incidents or life situations from successful feature films which would serve "as a basis for fruitful discussion" by teachers and pupils. The Committee made its first survey in 1929, formulated its program in 1931, and began its experiments in 1933. It has now developed a series of short excerpts from the following feature films, which are being released under the general title, "Secrets of Success": *Huckleberry Finn*, *Broken Lullaby*, *Sign of the Cross*, *Cradle Song*, *Skipper*, *Sooky*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Tom Brown of Culver*, *Lucky Dog*, *Alias the Doctor*, *Wednesday's Child*, *There's Always Tomorrow*, *Her Sweetheart*, *Young America*, *Gentlemen Are Born*, *No Greater Glory*, *The Band Plays On*, and *One Night of Love*. Some of the moral values which the pupils are expected to develop through discussion under teacher guidance are: social democracy, responsibility for peace, unselfishness, meaning of friendship, mutual understanding between parents and children, satisfactions in work well done, patriotism, kindness to animals, dynamic purpose in life, bad effects of divorce on life of child, mutual obligations necessary in family life, loyalty, intelligent respect for law, fortitude in the face of adversity, reliability, coöperation, and the necessity for long and painstaking preparation for the tasks of life. Many of these episodes are useful for adults as well as for children. Teachers' manuals, discussion outlines, and posters for each episode are available for use in connection with the showing of the pictures.¹⁰

The possibilities of utilizing theater-shown or entertainment films in social-science teaching have hardly been realized by educators. Many such films have a definite social message or are valuable in

⁹ The Committee is composed of Dean Howard M. LeSourd, Boston University Graduate School, *chairman*, Florence Hale, Editor, *Grade Teacher*, Mark A. May, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, Frank N. Freeman, Professor of Psychology, University of Chicago, and Miriam Van Waters, author of *Youth in Conflict*.

¹⁰ Full information may be obtained from the Committee on Social Values in Motion Pictures, Dean Howard M. LeSourd, *Chairman*, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

explaining social problems to children. Many entertainment films include authoritative incidental materials of value. The motion picture is important to the social-science teacher in elucidating social processes which are difficult to present through the printed or spoken word. The photoplay has an added advantage of being able to evoke appropriate emotional responses which will reinforce attitudes necessary to enlightened and useful citizenship. Such a film as *Fury* is an excellent "document" on the formation and behavior of mobs. Many films previously produced dealing with various aspects of the causes, treatment, and prevention of delinquency and crime would make excellent material for classroom discussion. Among them are *The Road to Life*, *Wild Boys of the Road*, *The Mayor of Hell*, *Parole*, *Don't Turn 'Em Loose*, *The Big House*, *Crime and Punishment*, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (one of the finest films ever made), *Jail Break*, *Road Gang*, and many others including *The Devil Is a Sissy*, one of the best "kid" films yet to be made and one which presents an excellent picture of the juvenile court.

Very valuable for social-science classes are the theater-shown episodes of the March of Time, which deal with a great variety of current problems. The March of Time presentations on the screen, which are seen by about 15,000,000 people every month in more than 6,614 theatres in America and abroad, occupy only four hours of screen time every year, yet their influence upon public opinion is tremendous. The March of Time publishes each month a Teachers' Manual which points out not only the direct and positive value that the March of Time episodes have as factual material in the social-studies and current-events classrooms, but indicates as well the way in which these episodes can be correlated with the work in English, in art, and in other subjects. A monthly *Photo Reporter* is also published for students in these classes and this contains a variety of interesting supplementary material.

Since the entertainment film has such an enormous weekly au-

dience in this country and such a profound effect upon the minds of both children and adults it is important that its content and the way in which its subject matter is presented be of such quality as to promote the objectives of education for wholesome citizenship. There have been many types of attack on this problem and of these the most unsound psychologically and sociologically is undoubtedly legal censorship. Space is lacking for the discussion of this important problem, except to point out that there is a better, although a slower, way to control the content and artistic quality of pictures. This is through education of the public and of children and young people in motion-picture appreciation so that they will "shop around" for their pictures and patronize only pictures representing a high standard of entertainment and art. Such increased patronage for good pictures will register at the box office and the producers will be encouraged to make more and more pictures of a superior quality.

The schools are doing a little along these lines through courses in motion-picture appreciation and in photoplay clubs, but they have not realized their great opportunities for instructing children as to the nature of good pictures and calling the attention of children to superior photoplays being shown currently in the theaters. The library has done a great deal more in this latter field than the public schools. The Cleveland Public Library, for example, issues a great variety of bookmarks to its readers, each bookmark devoted to a forthcoming production of merit and each presenting a series of books that may be read with profit in connection with the picture in question. The library also presents an interesting series of exhibits in connection with worth-while pictures.¹¹

A number of organizations of varied types preview, classify, and rate films and in this way take an important part in public education and guidance in the selection of pictures and in building up support for worth-while films at the box office. The most important of these

¹¹ *Books and Films* is a monthly publication devoted to library-film cooperation edited by Ina Roberts and Anthony Belle of the Cleveland Public Library, 11,118 Clifton Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio

groups is the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, whose long service in the field and in fighting legal censorship is outstanding. The work and organization of the Board are described elsewhere in this issue. Other organizations which select and endorse films are the National League for Decency, the East and West Coast Previews, the Indiana Endorsers of Motion Pictures, and various magazines which recommend certain films which they regard as suitable for their particular clienteles. It should be pointed out that these ratings of pictures, like the film reviews of motion-picture critics, are value-judgments which cannot escape a high degree of subjectivity on the part of the reviewers and which inevitably reflect the diverse personal experiences and varied cultural backgrounds of those who pass judgment.

The uses of motion pictures for other purposes than entertainment are many and varied and include almost every field of human knowledge and endeavor; science, education, religion, journalism, art, and industry. In this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, however, we are interested primarily in the educational uses of the motion picture. The use of the cinema for strictly instructional purposes in the school itself rather than in the theater represents a vast field in education which has been developed only to a very limited extent. Elsewhere in this issue are described some of the problems of the development of instructional films and their introduction into the public schools. It is also important to emphasize the great value of the motion picture for special educational purposes, such as in the fields of safety, health, social hygiene, medicine, industry, etc.¹²

¹² It is expected that a later issue of *THE JOURNAL* will deal with other educational and social aspects of the motion picture, the treatment of which has been limited here because of lack of space.

THE EDUCATIONAL TALKING PICTURE

V. C. ARNSPIGER

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The success of the effort to solve our problems of educational administration depends largely upon the adequacy of our approach. We see evidences on all sides of attempts to develop curricula, to organize administrative programs, to develop teacher improvement movements, to set up child accounting, without a fundamental understanding of major problems or ultimate functions.

In the consideration of the program of audio-visual instruction we must begin with the question "What is the function of an audio-visual program?"

The earliest human being was faced with the necessity for passing down the heritage of the race. This was done largely by precept and example, but the development of language helped immeasurably. The expansion of this knowledge from the local community to the outside world necessitated the use of drawings to supplement spoken language. The development of written language was a tremendous step forward but even more important was the coming of the printing press which made possible the wide dissemination of knowledge throughout the civilized world. The telescope added other planets to our heritage and the microscope opened up an immense world hitherto unknown.

To the early school's use of these implements of learning science added the photographic likeness which approached still nearer to reality. Within the present century, science has made available to schools the moving photograph or motion picture which overcame many restrictions of time and space inherent in former methods of presenting subject matter. During the past decade this striving for a more nearly perfect method of reproducing life situations produced the talking picture.

What was the motivating drive behind all this history? Simply

this—to present and interpret subject matter chosen from the heritage of the race to be communicated to the new generation in a more effective manner.

The development of the educational program since the beginning of time has been a history of the effort to overcome limitations to learning inherent in the mediums of communication available. The function of the film in the light of history, therefore, stands out bright and clear: Its main purpose is to assist in overcoming limitations which have hampered the cultural program of the individual.

What are these limitations to learning? I shall suggest a few.

1. When the situation to be presented is so intermingled with or surrounded by an environment as to render it obscure or meaningless
2. When interrelated situations are so completely separated by time or space as to render their relationships obscure
3. When great masses of data are involved
4. When movements in nature are too slow or too rapid, too small, or too far distant to be perceived by the unaided human senses
5. When the learner is confused by verbalism; for example, I use the term "protective tariff" which evokes mental images which are the product of backgrounds of experience which obviously are not common and, therefore, this term is used without any real foundation for understanding on the part of students

Our progress in overcoming these and other limitations in the different areas of subject matter varies tremendously. In the natural sciences our general level of understanding is very high, while in the social area we have not been able, by means of traditional methods, to present in the social-studies classroom, in a laboratory demonstration, life situations so important to an understanding of social phenomena. Now, if by means of the film we can reproduce life situations in the classroom in natural sequences we shall overcome one limitation which retards general social understanding.

The development of the curriculum has been greatly retarded by our inability to present certain fundamental concepts in almost every subject-matter area. In general we have come so to depend

upon the printed word for communicating ideas that the development of the curriculum has been seriously restricted. Proposals for adding concepts to the course of study have met with the objection that they are too complex when the real objection is that the concepts cannot be presented by means of the printed word. Under carefully controlled conditions it has been possible to present certain biological concepts which ordinarily are held off until the last years of high school, by means of the film on the second-grade level. What does this mean to the school of tomorrow? It means simply this—that the complete reorganization of the curriculum on all levels may come with our release from the many restrictions of time-honored methods of presenting subject matter.

We are all aware that methods and materials have a way of becoming entrenched in the system and being accepted by default, but as a matter of fact very little has been done about the situation. Furthermore, an original and courageous attack upon curriculum reorganization will be made only with the encouragement and through the support of the educational administrator. In our continuing examination of the objectives and subject matter of the curriculum, certain characteristics stand out in bold relief.

1. Objectives, although often narrow in scope, are usually found to be in line with educational philosophy. Their restatement requires little originality and there is usually general agreement as to their validity.
2. The subject matter of many courses of study seems to have very little bearing upon stated objectives. Why is this so often true? It is because we have too frequently left the development of subject matter and methods of presentation to the subject-matter specialist, who seldom has given any real consideration toward achieving the broader objectives of education. Rather he has presented his subject in a technically logical and factual manner, motivated often only by the question —“Is the material too complex or difficult to be understood by the pupils on a given level?”

It is obvious that all the published findings in any subject-matter area cannot be taught on any or all levels. How then shall subject

matter be selected? Let us start with a simple and generally accepted statement of our educational objectives, or goals. Next, let us search the literature of the subject for generalizations which have emerged as a result of the work of outstanding subject-matter specialists. From these generalizations let us select those which have a definite bearing upon our stated objectives, rigorously excluding those which seem to have little or no bearing. Many of these generalizations finally selected are not true in the light of recent findings; some are accepted on the basis of present data and many are controversial. This will be true in any subject-matter area. The next step is the selection of subject matter which has a definite bearing upon generalizations. Some of the subject matter may seem to refute while some may seem to support the generalization. This is the material which should go to make up the course of study. It can be seen that the generalization has been used as a device for selecting subject matter, rather than primarily something to be taught. Subject matter is to be taught. The generalization will emerge in the pupil's mind as his own personal tool for thinking. Truth is the main objective of instruction. Authenticity of subject matter is all important and must be safeguarded all along the line.

This method of selection should operate in all fields of subject matter. In the construction of a course of study in science, the method of selecting generalizations would have to be determined first by what types of people are expected to emerge from the course: technicians in the field, or persons with an understanding appreciation of science? Do we wish to develop an understanding of the social implications of scientific knowledge or are we interested primarily in the general cultural development of the individual? Generalizations selected as answers to these questions should be the starting point in selecting the subject matter of the course.

The superintendent of schools should preserve as growing points in his system the functions of curriculum expansion and subject-matter presentation. The proper utilization of audio-visual materials carefully produced will provide a powerful impetus to both

of these functions. The talking picture represents the most effective instrument for an economic expansion of the curriculum into many desirable fields by overcoming the many limitations to learning inherent in earlier methods of communication.

One important factor in the proper production of films may be mentioned. Too many textbooks have one or both of the following shortcomings. First, they may have been developed by curriculum specialists and while a serious attempt was made to achieve the broader objectives of education, the subject matter may have been inaccurate. Second, the text may have been produced by subject-matter specialists and fail almost entirely to meet the demands of modern educational objectives. An adequate film-production program must overcome both of these shortcomings. It must present authentic subject matter which has a definite bearing upon the broader objectives of education. Furthermore, it must present those aspects of subject matter which cannot be equally well presented by the use of other mediums of communication. In the process of producing the film, the subject-matter specialist must be held responsible for checking the authenticity of subject matter from the beginning of the continuity to the completion of the film. In the use of films made in this manner, and only in this manner, can the schools be justified in adding any of the materials of audio-visual instruction to their curriculum.

Much of what has been said up to this point will be taken for granted. Yet the story of the progress made in the use of educational films is not a very bright one. It has been one of opportunistic development and while enough has been done to prove the value of this newer device of communication, much still remains to be done.

In the first place most films have been made without an adequate background of research and investigation. Most research in the field has been of the evaluation type. Creative research in the production of the film to meet definite and unique requirements has too often been neglected. Most educational films have come about as a result of "spraying the landscape" with the camera. Standards

for the development of educational films, however, are now available as a result of widespread study and research. The superintendent of schools no longer need be satisfied with anything less than a thoroughgoing evaluation of films in terms of adequate standards before they are purchased.

In the second place there has too often been a haphazard development of the use of films in local instructional programs. In many cases the "director of visual education" has been one who has an interest in the making of amateur "movies," and who somehow "just drifted" into the job without adequate training and with little knowledge of the fundamentals of curriculum construction or any appreciation of his true function in the educational scheme of things. To him any film is educational and is accepted until something better comes along. Too often he has dictated to the teachers just what film they could use and when they could use it. He may take great pride in his ability to operate and repair projection machines and is willing to spend long hours discussing the merits of this or that make of projector. In his hands the film may become just another gadget tacked on to the educational program.

Opposed to this haphazard system of visual instruction is the planned program in which the film takes its proper place. Careful consideration is given to the requirements of educational philosophy, of the curriculum, of teaching method, of materials, and of administration and supervision. At this point it may be desirable to suggest what we now consider to be *the criteria for an adequate program of audio-visual education.*

- 1 The materials used should be well integrated with the whole program of instruction
2. A serious attempt should be made to expand the curriculum beyond the offering possible with the older devices
- 3 The materials should be selected according to recognized standards. For the educational film, these standards should include
 - a) Instructional value. The film should be a comprehensively taught lesson fitted directly to the course of study.
 - b) Uniqueness. The content which can best be presented by the film

- c) *Unity* Unity ensured by a central theme to which each sequence contributes.
- d) *Accuracy.* Every element of subject accurate and authentic.
- e) *Thoroughness* The central theme presented in sufficient detail
- f) *Technical excellence.* Good lighting, sharp definition, and well-balanced composition; sound clear and intelligible.
- g) *Artistic value.* General effect impressive as an artistic presentation.
- 4 Teachers should be trained in the use of the materials by means of
 - a) A unit course for all teachers.
 - b) A central group taught and its members made responsible for instructing their fellows.
 - c) A program of continuing supervision.
- 5 A system of services and physical provisions which renders easy and economical the use of the films by the teacher There should be no unnecessary red tape. The films should be ready when needed. There should be a library of films owned by the school The mechanics of projection should occupy little of the teacher's time
- 6 A continuing curriculum study should furnish the foundation for the future selection of materials. This should be one of the "growing points" of the school system. The organization for this function should involve in more or less degree every teacher in the system.
- 7. An environment conducive to creative teaching wherever audio-visual materials are used Such an environment involves
 - a) A wealth of fundamental examples of good teaching upon which to build Fundamentally there are three main purposes for using the film in the classroom:
 - (1) Shown initially to introduce and arouse interest in the unit
 - (2) To teach specific subject matter. This may require several showings
 - (3) To synthesize the materials as a culminating activityIt can be seen from this that one showing of the film is inadequate In the light of this conclusion the rental of the film for each necessary showing is certainly less desirable than having the film in the possession of the school system
 - b) An atmosphere of freedom which encourages the elaboration of standardized procedures by the classroom instructor
It is expected that most of the progress in the refinement of methods will occur in the individual classroom. This cannot happen unless teachers are encouraged to try out new teaching devices and tech-

niques. Numerous examples of creative teaching have occurred in a recent utilization project in twelve centers in the eastern part of the United States. In one classroom during the progress of the unit the teacher turned off the sound and called upon various members of the class to furnish their own comments upon the film as it was shown silently. All kinds of oral and written expression grew out of the film showings. The list of artistic techniques developed during the progress of this project was indeed surprising.

c) *Recognition of creative work done by individual teachers*

Provision must be made for individual recognition. Teachers should be encouraged to write up their experiences for professional magazines. Outstanding examples of creative teaching should be given publicity in faculty meetings and in the house organ of the system. Examples of good teaching should be demonstrated before teacher groups.

This recognition of good teaching will prove to be one of the most powerful forces for the professional development of the teaching staff while, on the other hand, a lack of recognition has a most deadening effect upon the teacher.

The talking picture seems destined to play a large part in the school of tomorrow because it is essential to the solution of educational problems brought on by the ever expanding curriculum. Its most important functions would seem to be:

1. Release of teachers from time-consuming work and allowing more time to important duties which cannot be mechanized
2. The overcoming of limitations to learning which now hinder educational progress on all levels
3. Making possible economical expansion of the curriculum
4. Administering to the learning needs of thousands of pupils for whom the present twelve-year system of public education is really only a six-year program because of major psychological difficulties
5. Making possible an adult cultural and educational program which will enable the superintendent of schools to initiate more adequate programs of social engineering for his community.

MODERNIZATION, BY WAY OF THE EDUCATIONAL FILM

LORRAINE NOBLE

*Administrator, Educational Film Project
American Council on Education*

It may come as a surprise to educators in general to know that Hollywood is interested in films for the schools. Not all Hollywood, but a considerable sized group of the hardest working technicians in the large motion-picture studios have turned longing eyes toward this field, believing it to hold fewer production "headaches" than their own field. In these green pastures the creative writer and producer could interpret life frankly and as it is lived, or could deal with the wealth of authenticated factual material—no more fantastic fantasies! Every year adds to this group men and women who share the earnest desire to create for the schools films that will carry their share of the burden of American education.

In every studio one hears glowing conversations about that vague something known as an educational film. No venturesome soul has attempted a Hollywood production for this field for the very simple reason that under present conditions there is no way by which the actual cost of even a modest film could be obtained from the school field. Even the enormously wealthy eastern production groups that have made school films in the past few years are still in the red.

Perhaps Hollywood expects too much from the school field. In its own area of entertainment films, Hollywood knows definitely and in advance that the minimum booking is sufficient to guarantee a return of all production and exploitation costs and a handsome profit. Hollywood would be willing to forego the handsome profit for the pleasure of making educational films, provided the production cost could be returned.

Nearly three years ago the writer came out of Hollywood and journeyed to Washington, that mecca of people who want somebody "to do something about" things—this time, educational films.

A gratifying welcome was received from the United States Office of Education, and sometime later a special project was set up under the auspices of the American Council on Education. As for all good projects, ample foundation grants were obtained to carry on the work of establishing a clearing house for the educational film.

From the first day the project has been rather fondly called the "American Film Institute" although there has never been an actual incorporation of such an institute. In the early days of our work, it was hoped that the organization would be created eventually by special act of Congress, sharing prestige with the National Geographic Society, the American Red Cross, the D.A.R., and similar national nonprofit organizations. In spite of this lack of legal entity, however, the project has made rapid progress in the past two years.

The first year was devoted mainly to informal fact gathering, the holding of meetings of educational leaders, and the obtaining of a consensus of opinion as to the desirability of setting up an organization such as the American Film Institute. Sentiment in favor of it was unanimous. During the first year an elaborate plan for such an institute was submitted to the educational foundations for financing, but wisely it was decided that the project lacked both personnel experienced in this particular field and formal facts regarding the present status of and trends in visual instruction. Therefore, the year just finished was spent on a number of special studies aimed to bring in desired information. Briefly they are:

1. A survey of existing educational films. The United States Office of Education cooperated with the American Council on Education in sending out listing forms to more than 2,500 film producers who were believed to have material of educational value. A valiant attempt was made to obtain the age of each film—its date of production—a full description of its content, and its present location and availability for the school field. About 6,000 films were listed in this survey, including many from little-known sources. From the data on the listing cards, however, it appears that probably less than

ro per cent of these films are fit for today's classroom or auditorium. The schools have long been a dumping ground for inferior material that could not find a theatrical market. Each of the listings was given a Dewey decimal classification number and appropriately filed. Sectional mimeographed lists covering groups of films—for instance, all the films in the field of sports—were prepared last summer and will be available for some type of evaluatory work during the coming year. In fact a major portion of the current budget will be devoted to finding out how bad or good these 6,000 films are. Some labor may be saved by collecting film reviews of scattered reviewers—such as city visual departments that have looked at films for years. Dr. Charles F. Hoban, Jr., has recently joined the American Council on Education to supervise this phase of the work.

It is hoped, eventually, to obtain expert evaluations on a large number of films that may be recommended for school use. However, the task is extremely complicated, inasmuch as numerous new films are becoming available, and it has not been possible to create a service that could readily obtain listings on the new films.

Concurrent with this film survey, the H. W. Wilson Company has established a film-listing service, which it is interchanging with the listings obtained by the Council. The first edition of the *Educational Film Catalog* of the Wilson Company appeared in May of this year. A supplement is due the first of the year and thereafter frequent cumulative supplements are expected. If and when the American Council on Education is able to obtain good educational opinion on the usefulness of the large mass of film material it knows something about, this information will be included in the *Film Catalog*. This method of publication ensures continuity of the catalog, irrespective of the vagaries of special foundation grants.

2. The United States Office of Education also coöperated with the Council and did all of the actual work in connection with a National Survey of Visual Instruction in the Elementary and Secondary Schools. Indicative of the increased interest in audio-visual

instruction, more than 95 per cent of the superintendents in cities over 5,000 population replied to the questionnaire on this survey. Some 200,000 items were tabulated and two reports resulted from the survey. The first document, *Directory and Inventory of Visual Instruction*, has been recently published and is available through the Council. The directory lists more than 8,000 persons in charge of or "most interested in" visual instruction, with the extent of their visual-auditory equipment, including everything from motion-picture projectors to public-address systems. The total number of projectors reported as owned by the schools (secondary and elementary) accounts for the failure to supply market. Only 10,000 projectors (35mm., 16mm., silent and sound) were reported. About 500 of these were of the favored 16 mm. sound type. Five hundred projectors, scattered throughout the many schools, do not warrant the special production of films for this sized market. This acute lack of equipment is attributed to several causes: the depression, newness of the 16 mm sound-on-film projector, lack of suitable sound films, and unfamiliarity of teachers with the technique of using films. It is not intended to infer that only sound films are desired in the schools, quite the contrary, but the consensus of opinion favors the purchase of this more modern teaching tool, in order that schools may be ready to use the films that the immediate future should bring in sound versions, as well as to salvage what is best of the older silent films. There is also strong sentiment in favor of the silent film for some subjects and for use in the lower grades.

The persons to whom the questionnaires on this survey were sent were asked to indicate the ways in which national educational agencies could be of greatest benefit in expanding the use of visual aids. Far and beyond all other desired helps was the suggestion that some form of Federal financing for the purchase of projectors, either at reduced costs or on deferred payment plan, would do more than any other one thing toward achieving the goal of modernization. Teacher training and lesson plans came next in importance.

This problem of Federal financial aid is thus placed in a prominent light. There has been some vague discussion of matching money in State aid, but it is not believed that a definite move of this type is under way. However, there is another very simple type of Government aid that might be made available to schools, clubs, forums, or other groups wishing to purchase modern projection equipment. If the projector companies that sell this equipment would make arrangements similar to those made by the electric stove and refrigerator manufacturers whereby the Electric Home and Farm Authority, a Government corporation created to discount conditional sales contracts, would undertake to add this type of electrical equipment to its list of financed apparatus, then any one could buy a projector for around ten dollars a month. Some preliminary negotiations have been had between the projector manufacturers and the Authority, but at this writing the plan has not gone into effect. Several of the largest national educational agencies have agreed to get back of a campaign to encourage schools to purchase equipment if these favorable terms can be arranged.

The United States Office of Education will issue its analysis of the findings in a second document due sometime this fall.

3. Dr. Fannie Dunn and Miss Etta Schneider at Teachers College, Columbia University, have coöperated in carrying on a bibliographical study. In the past year more than 5,000 articles or publications dealing with visual instruction have been listed and classified appropriately. Brief digests have been completed on the leading articles in several fields, such as (a) the administration of visual aids, (b) teacher preparation, and (c) experimental use of the film in classrooms. Temporary mimeographed copies of these digests have had limited circulation and a plan is being worked out whereby some form of permanent publication, as well as continuity of effort, will be assured for this important class of work.

4. There has long been a need for a simple handbook on the methods of administering a visual department. Dr. Edgar Dale, of

Ohio State University, (who was borrowed for nine months for special work on this project) has been compiling into such a book the results of his travels and visits to various visual departments, both in this country and abroad. The book is expected to be completed early next year and will probably be published by the Council.

5. The Motion Picture Committee of the Women's Section of the American Physical Education Association has been attempting to discover for the Council the difficulties that would be met by similar committees in other fields. When the project was first set up, the plan was to have numerous subject-matter committees survey their respective fields to ascertain what areas should be covered by future film production. So far the physical-education committee has worked in the field of women's sports, and has a list of games in which films would be helpful, with numerous suggestions as to the type of film that is desired, and data on the general interest in the field. This method of procedure has not yet proved entirely practicable on account of the many natural difficulties encountered. However, this has been an experimental study to locate these difficulties and, if possible, to discover a solution.

To some extent the foregoing studies will color the activity of the Council for the coming year. In addition, the problem of teacher training and film distribution will receive special attention. The writer has discovered a widespread interest in the establishment of what might be termed a network of educational exchanges. These would be State and local film depots, such as the university extension divisions, teachers' colleges, State departments of education, State and public libraries, as well as county and city units. Possibly each State may be able to work out within its own boundaries the type of visual-aids distribution service most practicable, with one clearing house in each State for information about the availability of visual aids, as well as films that are needed for that section. This would be an excellent field in which to utilize National Youth Administration-aided students to help carry the cost on increased personnel.

After two months of intensive conferences with members of the motion-picture industry in Hollywood last summer, the writer is convinced that unlimited first-class instructional film material would be forthcoming immediately if a practical, business-like distribution network could be established. At present, no major producer seems interested in undertaking direct distribution to the school field, as it involves too many thousands of contacts, repeated almost endlessly, and the *maximum* outlet is only 500 machines. If our 276,000 schools had even 5,000 projectors the attitude would be entirely different!

It has been interesting to note the increased appreciation by the motion-picture industry of the unique needs of the classroom; also the evident wishes of the individual producers to pool their instructional film releases in order that one special organization might collect and distribute all product from the industry to the school units. The carrying out of this idea would immediately take care of the main problem of distribution—the centralization of materials to be furnished the schools. A reasonable number of professionally made films suitable for school use would spur interest greatly.

Reviewing the numerous activities that have emanated from this educational film project of the Council, it is believed that not the least important phase of our work has been arousing interest in other educational groups. Nearly 100 other organizations that we know about are carrying on some type of activity in regard to educational films and other visual aids. To the extent of our facilities we try to keep in touch with these scattered activities in order to bring about an interchange of experience. The Council never planned to undertake in its own behalf all of the studies that must be carried on before this field reaches its ultimate development. Instead, the sentiment back of the foundation grants to the Council for projects of this type is that they are intended to act more as "leavening in the dough." Judging by the widespread interest and cooperation we have met on all fronts, our crock is overflowing.

THE MOTION PICTURE AND SOCIAL-HYGIENE EDUCATION

JEAN B. FINNEY

Associate Director, American Social Hygiene Association

Social hygiene is a subject which naturally lends itself to interpretation through the motion picture. This fact has made it possible for social-hygiene agencies to disseminate to millions of people in all parts of the world social-hygiene information which might not have reached them in any other way.

Social-hygiene films have been made for various purposes: for public information in support of the social-hygiene movement; for education and protection of the individual in personal health; to provide knowledge concerning the facts of biology and reproduction; and as a means of bringing new developments and techniques to the attention of medical and other professional groups. Two types have been developed—drama films and lecture or documentary films.

Several European countries have made regular use of social-hygiene films. In France, a film called *The Three Friends* and in Germany another called *Feind im Blut* (The Enemy in the Blood) were widely shown. The British Social Hygiene Council has made and distributed a number of pictures, among them a four-reel drama film called *Deferred Payment*, used also in this country.

In the United States, the American Social Hygiene Association has been chiefly responsible for making social-hygiene films and getting them before the public. Beginning with the drama film *Fit to Fight*, made for men in the camps in 1917, with the coöperation of the War Department, and the companion film, *The End of the Road*, made in 1918 for women and girls, the Association produced about twelve films between 1917 and 1923. Aside from the drama films the subjects dealt with were biological and medical, and of

these six are still in circulation. Since 1920 about one hundred and fifty prints have been sold or loaned in nineteen foreign countries and several times that number have been purchased by health departments, social-hygiene agencies, and educational groups in the United States. While the drama films, because of change in costume fashion, production, and acting technique, have naturally become outmoded, the biological and medical films, being mostly scientific photography, or diagrammatic, are still widely circulated. The four-reel biological film *The Gift of Life* is in demand by schools, parent groups, and similar agencies. The films, *Modern Diagnosis and Treatment of Syphilis and Gonorrhea in the Male*, are used regularly by medical societies and nursing groups. The Army, the Navy, and Federal groups such as the CCC camps and the TVA utilize the existing lecture films on venereal diseases regularly with their men.¹

While recognizing the value of educational efforts with such specialized groups, the Association, as a national voluntary agency concerned with health conservation, has always been especially interested in motion pictures as a means of educating the general public, or so-called "mass education." As in the case of other communicable diseases, syphilis and gonorrhea, with which social-hygiene medical measures are particularly concerned, cannot be stamped out unless intelligent cooperation of the public is secured. But the problem of securing such participation is somewhat more complicated in relation to these diseases than in some other health problems. In dealing with a disease like typhoid fever, for example, the understanding and cooperation of the great mass of people is not necessary, but success depends upon the intelligent action of the health and administrative authorities in a community. With slightly different methods the public can be protected through immuniza-

¹ For a complete list of the Association's available films, see the folder Social Hygiene Motion Pictures, Publication no 766

tion against such diseases as smallpox or diphtheria. But with such diseases as tuberculosis and syphilis, there is no method of immunizing people or protecting them, except as each individual is armed with knowledge to keep him from getting infected or to teach him how to avoid infecting other persons. Consequently, to prevent and control such diseases we are dependent largely on education. The social-hygiene drama films which I have mentioned are examples of efforts to provide such education to the general public.

The first social-hygiene drama film, so far as we have knowledge, was a screen presentation (silent) of Eugene Brieux's *Damaged Goods*, sponsored, produced, and played in California, about 1915, by that fine veteran actor Richard Bennett, who had previously produced and acted this play on the stage. The screen production followed as a natural consequence of the wide success of the stage play, and although some objections were voiced it played extensively throughout the country for several years.

The possibilities of motion pictures for social-hygiene education were thoroughly proved during the World War. The drama and lecture films *Fit to Fight* and *The End of the Road*, based on careful study and observation by scientific groups, physicians, physiologists, and psychologists, and produced and directed under expert guidance,² demonstrated conclusively the theory that education is a strong force in maintaining health and avoiding disease. The educational program with the armed forces was without doubt a factor in maintaining the low rate of venereal infections among the soldiers here and abroad. Also, special studies of audience reaction

² The American Social Hygiene Association, the United States War Department, the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, and, in the case of women's films, the Young Women's Christian Association sponsored these films. They were written and directed by Lieutenant Edward H. Griffith, who has since become one of Hollywood's leading directors. Trained actors, including Raymond McKee, Paul Kelly, Claire Adams, and others, played the various roles. In *The End of the Road*, Richard Bennett again proved his interest by playing the leading part. Before they were shown to the groups for which they were made, numerous previews were held before professional groups to detect scientific inaccuracies.

among civilians and soldiers³ indicated an eagerness for social-hygiene information and a disposition to make intelligent use of it.

In spite of the fact that costumes and technique became old-fashioned and even ludicrous, these films continued to be shown and to be received by the public with interest in the sixteen years following the war period. No longer ago than the winter of 1932 Dr Gordon Bates, General Director of the Canadian Social Hygiene Council in Toronto, showed *The End of the Road*, a silent picture, to 20,000 people on paid admissions in ten days.

Such experiences as this and frequent requests from State health officers and other agencies and persons for a new drama film convinced us that the production of such a film would be among the most helpful services which the Association, as the national social-hygiene organization, could render to the States and communities. But the question was how to finance the production. An answer seemed to be offered when the officials of one of the best known of reliable motion-picture producers approached us with a well-constructed outline for developing a scenario and we were glad to join in what seemed like a very promising plan. The film was completed during the summer of 1933 and was titled *Damaged Lives*. Although the making of this film was finally undertaken by a new firm—the Weldon Pictures Corporation—we assisted in every way within our means in the preparation of the scenario and film, furnishing copies of our films and scientific material for study in Hollywood by the producers and by Dr. Gordon Bates, who had been loaned by the Canadian Social Hygiene Council to supervise personally the accuracy of technical details. We called the attention of professional and lay groups to this film through a series of previews, through our publications *The Journal of Social Hygiene* and *Social*

³ *A Psychological Study of Motion Pictures in Relation to Venereal Disease Campaigns*, by Karl S. Lashley and John B. Watson of the Psychological Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University. United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, 1922. The film selected for study was *Fit to Fight* (retitled after the Armistice *Fit to Win*). Eight different groups, varying widely in social and educational level, totaling 4,800 to 5,000 persons, were studied

Hygiene News, and through the preparation of a special American lecture film to follow the drama, when it proved that the original version made for showing in Canada was not entirely suitable for use in the United States. The Canadian Social Hygiene Council and the Canadian film agencies were equally interested and entered into an active program of promotion of showings throughout the Dominion.

The difficulties of making any educational film for commercial distribution, aside from the problems involved in its distribution, are many. To produce a picture that will be scientifically accurate and dramatically gripping, yet nonsensational, is an undertaking of formidable size. When the necessity for dealing with a subject like the disease syphilis in a reassuring rather than alarming manner is added, and yet in a way which will not minimize the danger from such a health menace, the problem becomes more than ever intricate, and it is probably hardly possible to make a film which would satisfy all concerned. *Damaged Lives*, we believe, does a fairly good job, though audiences of physicians or trained nurses or social workers will perhaps find in the film, as we do, various weaknesses and points which they would like to revise or eliminate.

Briefly, the story of the drama *Damaged Lives*⁴ concerns a well-to-do young couple who are engaged to be married but whose wedding owing to various circumstances does not take place until after the young man becomes infected with syphilis through a brief and unpremeditated contact with another woman. Learning of his infection he unwisely visits a quack doctor who charges him a large fee and assures him that he is all right. When the young wife becomes pregnant and her doctor's careful examination reveals syphilis infection both her husband and she are frantic with anxiety. Refusing to believe her physician's assurance that proper treatment will enable her to bear a healthy child, and that both she and her husband may

⁴ For a more detailed synopsis and the full scenario of the lecture film, see the booklet *A Three Point Program in Health Education* American Social Hygiene Association, Publication no 857.

be cured, she tries to kill herself and her husband. The boy succeeds in preventing this, and the film ends on a hopeful note. Throughout the drama it is reiterated that there is no stage in the disease when physicians cannot do something to alleviate or check it.

The drama is followed by a three-reel lecture film *Science and Modern Medicine*,⁸ discussing the effect of syphilis upon the human system, giving the facts of reproduction, and repeating the possibility of cure through early and persistent treatment. The lecture film has now been revised for showing separately from the drama. In addition to the drama and lecture film a special series⁹ of pamphlets were prepared by the Association for distribution in connection with public showings.

Following the completion of *Damaged Lives*, the large number of previews held in New York and elsewhere by the Association before professional groups seemed to indicate general approval, and on September 15, 1933, the public world *première* of the film occurred in Boston at the Majestic Theatre, with the State Department of Health, the Massachusetts Social Hygiene Society, and other State and local groups coöperating.

The Boston showing was a success from the beginning. Although a heavy downfall of rain prevailed at the *première*, the house, which was a rather large one, was filled and the picture remained at the Majestic Theatre for six weeks, showing to an audience of 4,000 people per day with paid admissions of 50 and 75 cents. In all, the total commercial showings during 1933 and 1934 were in 32 States, 426 theaters, and 300 cities, with a total audience of around 700,000 persons. The film was also shown in Spain, France, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Holland, Argentina, Australia, Chile, the Central American States, and Cuba. In England it had an enormous success, running for some weeks at the Strand Theatre.

⁸The lecture film, *Science and Modern Medicine*, may be rented or purchased from the American Social Hygiene Association in 16 or 35 mm.

⁹The special series of pamphlets include *Health for Man and Boy*, *Women and Their Health*, and *Marriage and Parenthood*, Publication nos. 839, 840, 841. They may be secured for five cents each from the Association.

In this country, however, the New York Board of Censors failed to approve the film for public showing. The Censor Boards of Ohio and Pennsylvania followed suit. As this automatically reduced the potential income of the distributors by about 37 per cent, the film had small chance of being a financial success. With the small force which the distributors were able to maintain it became impossible to safeguard the picture against sensational publicity and exploitation by unscrupulous exhibitors. The Association, therefore, regretfully found it necessary to withdraw its sponsorship at the close of 1934, though our point of view as regards the value of the film has not changed and we hope that it may yet be possible to show it more widely to educational groups if commercial distribution cannot be effected.

Various experiments indicated that the public reception of the film was hearty, appreciative, and intelligent. In Providence, Rhode Island, for example, several thousand comment cards turned in by audiences were almost unanimously commendatory. In Boston many persons during the period of the showings sought advice as to taking up or resuming treatment for syphilis. In London it was found that the increase in the number of patients coming to clinics for syphilis treatment after seeing the film was as high as 25 per cent. Best of all the effect produced by the picture was not that of fear or phobia, but rather of an intelligent comprehension of the health problem involved and a common-sense determination to seek sound medical attention.

Going back to the difficulties of getting social-hygiene motion-picture films before the public, aside from the problems of distribution and publicity, a real obstacle lies in the fact that many unscientific and sensational "sex" films have been produced since the War and in most States have been shown without restriction. It is the content of these films which has been responsible for the rule made by the Motion Picture Distributors of America that no film dealing with sex hygiene, white slavery, or venereal diseases shall be shown

in theaters. This makes it impossible to show social-hygiene films of any sort anywhere except in the second-rate and less important picture theaters. The ruling also means that the distributor or producer handling such pictures must conduct his business in the face of open disapproval of a large and important section of the motion-picture industry. Oftentimes exhibitors are skeptical about that type of picture, considering it a gamble, and the result is that they require a guarantee from the distributor or insist on such a large percentage of the box-office receipts that the producer and distributor cannot make a profit.

The fly-by-night sensational sex pictures, in our opinion, are also responsible to a great extent for the attitude of the boards of censors in the States and communities. A precedent has been established for dealing with them drastically, and the censors have come to believe that any picture that has to do with venereal diseases is unfit for public consumption and should be banned. Coöperating with the National Board of Review, members of our staff have seen many of these unscientific and sensational pictures and believe that the censor boards cannot be blamed for showing conservatism. We believe, however, that the censor boards should be persuaded to differentiate between good and bad films and we have endeavored to set up standards by which such a distinction might be made, though so far no censor board has shown a willingness to be guided by such suggestions. Some of the qualifications which we consider fundamental are: the film must be scientifically accurate, it must have a definite purpose and continuity, it must offer useful and important knowledge in an acceptable manner, must avoid debatable and unestablished points in public health; must properly correlate medical content with social and moral aspects;⁷ must secure the approval of lay groups, must demonstrate its ability to secure popular support; must

⁷ This is quite important to some groups. The criticism has been made against *Damaged Lives* by such groups that there is no attempt to point up the social and moral aspect of the character's conduct, and that the film therefore does not realize its full possibilities for education.

be safeguarded against misrepresentation and exploitation in advertising or use in any way harmful to the public, and must be withdrawn, revised, or limited in showings in accordance with practical experience.

If a social-hygiene film could be produced covering all of these qualifications we believe it might satisfy even the censor boards. Meanwhile the informed opinion of such groups as university classes and the readers of this magazine will do much to break down censor prejudice.

In discussing social-hygiene motion pictures this paper has not dwelt upon the objectives of the social-hygiene program, nor the method by which these objectives are approached, nor have the particular problems presented by the disease syphilis been considered. Inquiries regarding such details will be welcomed at the Association's offices at 50 West 50th Street, New York, N. Y. Perhaps it may be repeated here, however, in conclusion, that the Association regards public education on a large scale as one of the most effective weapons against this insidious and dangerous disease, for which more than a half million people in this country are known to be constantly under medical treatment, and at least as many more infected but not receiving medical care; and that as a means of education the social-hygiene motion picture, properly produced and distributed, ranks with those other two instruments of mass education—the newspaper and the radio. All three of these channels for reaching the public are restricted to some extent at present. Progress is being made in removing these restrictions, however.⁸ The last few months have seen a decided increase in liberality on the part of newspapers

⁸ See the *New York Daily News* for January 31, 1936, and subsequent issues for a series of eight articles on syphilis, the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* for October 7, 13, and 20, 1935, the *Washington Daily Herald* of April and May 1936 for a series of 20 articles "Public Enemy Number 1," and numerous other newspapers for references in news columns, editorial space, and headlines to syphilis and gonorrhea. The radio talks referred to were given by Surgeon General Thomas A. Parran, Dr. William F. Snow, Michael Davis, and other authorities on public health and social hygiene. For a comprehensive discussion of problems and progress in social-hygiene education, see "New Brooms and Old Cobwebs," by Jean B. Pinney, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, April 1936.

as regards the printing of medical terms and scientific information. National radio networks have permitted and even encouraged the use of the word "syphilis" in recent health talks, and it may be in time that the State censor boards will permit showings in New York and other large cities with a consequent commercial profit which will enable the production and distribution of *Damaged Lives* or some other social-hygiene film, and consequent results in public health.

As a novel and inexpensive means of supplementing regular motion-picture films, the Association has recently been experimenting with a "talking slide film," operated in connection with a phonograph disc recording of a social-hygiene talk. The first film of this description was produced in 1936 by Ralph Rushmore under the Association's sponsorship, and is entitled *For All Our Sakes*. While it is yet too soon to tabulate any results obtained from showings of this film, it is believed that the new presentation will be decidedly effective as a means of informing the lay public. Attractively photographed, accompanied by a voice recording of unusual variety and vividness, and with the added virtue of inexpensiveness, it is already proving its popularity.*

*The film and disc record have been prepared for use with any standard "talking-slide" machine. It may be secured through such of the State health departments and other agencies that have purchased copies, or purchased directly from the distributors, Marley Sherris Associates, or from the American Social Hygiene Association, both at 50 West 50th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE CINEMA ENTERS THE LIBRARY

GEORGE FREEDLEY

Librarian, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library

The cinema has of necessity become a large part of any theater collection in a library or a museum. Years ago the director of the New York Public Library realized the increasing importance of moving pictures as an art, as a business, and as a force in the cultural and intellectual world. At that time books, catalogues, pamphlets, and periodicals, both trade and fan, were secured for the Library by purchase and gift. This considerable book collection is one of the largest in a public institution.

In 1929-1930 George Kleine, one of the pioneers, along with Edison, Lumière, and Méliès, presented to the New York Public Library a very great many trade magazines, pressbooks, and, what is of the first importance, his account books and business records. The student of the cinema may study at first hand the development of the business side of this type of entertainment.

The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., have cooperated with the Library in collecting and preserving cinematic data. The late Frank J. Wiltach presented his collection which included many early moving-picture items. During his lifetime the active collecting of pressbooks, stills, reviews, and moving-picture scripts was begun. Since 1930 the Library has bound in scrapbook form one or more reviews of each feature film released in New York for regular adult audiences. In addition to these bound volumes of reviews, all New York newspapers as well as two from London are clipped for items of motion-picture interest. These clippings represent an accumulation of pieces concerning plays, actors, producers, directors, cameramen, as well as feature articles about censorship, organizations, shooting, new movements in the field. The Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrapbooks contains much of interest along these lines. As this is one of the great theatrical col-

lections, naturally the film is adequately covered. Mr. Locke, owner and editor of the *Toledo Blade*, through his newspaper connections was able to secure much material of all kinds which is of enormous present-day interest. Stills and newspaper criticisms recreate the beginnings and development of the silent screen.¹

Naturally one is interested to know the type of person who uses a collection of this kind and for whom it is intended. First and foremost it is used by the industry itself. The research, publicity, script, and business offices frequently find it necessary to obtain theatrical information. This may take the form of a request for the copyright owner of a given play. Again it may be information concerning the author of a play or an actor who has appeared in it. Runs of plays, dates of opening, and names of producers are frequently sought.

All motion-picture companies in these days maintain research departments, adequate or inadequate. Those companies possessing first-rate research people are to be congratulated because the inaccuracies frequently attributed to Hollywood are avoided. If inaccuracies appear in a film it is not always fair to blame the research worker back of it. Frequently the correct information has been supplied but has been intentionally disregarded by the director and producer.

Any large library or museum has frequent contacts with these research people. It is the intention of the New York Library that its Theatre Collection staff act in the capacity of liaison officers between the industry and the various divisions of the Library. For the one question which is fully theater, there are a half dozen which tax the full resources of any institution. A characteristic theater request received by this department was for a picture of the interior of Lillian

¹The Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library is organized, administratively, as a section of the Main Reading Room. A portion of the North Hall is screened off as a reading room for theater readers. There the index catalogue of fugitive material is kept. This catalogue brings together the files of clippings, photographs, stills, and programs. Chapters in books and articles in magazines have been indexed in addition to such articles included in the regularly published indices of periodical literature. Full records of books are to be found in the Public Catalogue located in Room 315 of this Library.

Russell's dressing room at the Casino Theater, New York, in 1891. Many requests are for information on costumes, some of which may be answered by the American History Room or the Art Department or the Print Room. Again the Map Section, the Economics Division, or the Manuscript Division must be called on for assistance. It is our job to see that these motion-picture people get to the correct sources of information no matter where located.

Writers for motion-picture magazines draw largely on our biographical material, whether books, periodicals, or newspaper clippings. The serious evaluator or the historian makes use principally of the material filed under subject. Artists use stills as a source for their work. The audience is principally concerned with the complete, for New York, file of criticisms.

On the other hand the first concern of the Theatre Collection must be the preservation of theatrical records and the collecting of them. However, the fact that it is actually working with the producers makes it possible for it to secure material not otherwise available and to keep itself alive to the constantly changing demands of its special public. Any collection that does not bear closely in mind the needs of its readers will soon die, at least as an educational force in the industry, no matter how long the collection may actually be preserved. The librarian and curator must bear in mind the necessity to anticipate the needs of their public and to guide them. Classifications that confuse the public defeat their very purpose. There is a certain advantage in having the person who actually meets the reader classify the material and vice versa. This is usually not practicable in large institutions but the very special nature of the so-called fugitive material in which are to be found the precious and fast-perishing records of the cinema has brought about the need of a special staff. It was necessary to create a technique for handling material of this kind. Book material as well as bound periodicals bring no special problems to the trained librarian but photographs, programs, scenarios, newspaper clippings, etc., are difficult to handle in the average library without a special librarian.

The writer has evolved the system in use in this library and is willing to admit its weaknesses so long as its main purpose is recognized. Changes in technique have been made and will continue to be made because new problems arise; a new public creates new problems. Elasticity of mind and extreme catholicity are necessary to meet the constant and never ending demands of a theater public as exacting as this. The writer welcomes these demands because he realizes that they are made only because of the burning interest of the readers. New types of information are required constantly. Every change in audience interest as well as producing interest is reflected in the questions asked.

The production center of the industry is in Hollywood but the main offices are located in New York and it is there that the most difficult research problems are handled. The large centralized collection of the New York Public Library is the Library's answer to the needs of the motion-picture public. All books, stills, pressbooks, scrapbooks should go into this depository because as it approaches completeness, its service is greater.

AMATEUR-GROUP FILM PRODUCING WITH ECONOMY

KENNETH F. SPACE

Staff Member, Religious Motion Picture Foundation

Any group of nonprofessional film enthusiasts, regardless of the experience of its members as individual motion-picture makers, will find its way filled with unexpected pitfalls when it attempts its first group photoplay production. Fortunately, however, most of these pitfalls can be avoided and the balance bridged over by careful planning and systematic procedure.

May we, as a group producing experimental motion pictures with, we hope and believe, a purpose, suggest a few preventatives and remedies which we have learned through sometimes not too happy circumstances? We have not made all the mistakes possible but we have made our share and through them we have approached a not perfect but constantly improving method of procedure.

The average group in attempting to organize its forces for a production is quite apt to consider the problem too easy of accomplishment and fail through lack of people willing to make the necessary sacrifices of time and money after the novelty has worn off. The entire responsibility for the production gradually comes to rest on the shoulders of a few persons. On the other hand the group may suffer from making the production problem too complicated and expensive to be fun to do and, after all, in spite of all our work and worry we should expect to have fun and enjoyment while making a picture.

In the first place, a group either organizes and then looks for a story to film or several people get together and, excited over a story idea, form a production staff to bring that story into actuality. Let us follow along with the first of these two types of groups.

The group probably started because one or two persons in the crowd owned or had access to a camera. The obvious thing to do,

and it has been done many times, would be to elect him or them president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. A far more sensible procedure, however, would be to create offices or departments covering all phases of the production and assign each and every member of the group to one or more of these divisions, balancing their capabilities and their desires. In other words, if one member has artistic ability but desires to direct, put that person in charge of sets with direct responsibility for them and at the same time make him an assistant director so that he may get some experience pertaining to that line of activity. One thing, however, that cannot be stressed too much is the fact that the person in charge of each department be held absolutely responsible for the duties required of him, be it costumes, properties, or whatnot, and he should refrain from accepting the position unless he can devote the proper time and effort needed to carry out his part of the work.

The fundamental divisions of a photoplay-producing group are directorial, photographic, electrical, property (which may include costuming), and clerical (script clerk). Each division may, of course, consist of only one individual or a group except in the case of the director who, after discussion with the actors, has the sole power to decide on action and, in the absence of or due to the lack of a general manager, acts as chief "holder-together" of the group.

Having organized, the next problem is the story or plot. That sounds easy until you try it. The first two suggestions are generally to do a comedy or a mystery thriller, in spite of the facts that comedy is the most difficult thing to do in pantomime, our "funny" scenes seeming merely "smart-alecky" to our audience, and that the average amateur mystery photoplay still remains a mystery long after the show is over.

Why not do a simple plot first? Perhaps it could be partially or completely filmed out-of-doors to simplify the photographic problem, and let us limit it to one 400-foot reel for economy's sake, to lighten the technical problem of the first production and to increase

our chances of doing it well. And here is another thought, if it is to be well done and worth while, let us pick a story that will serve some socially useful purpose, so that upon presentation it will contribute something besides entertainment to the minds of the audience. I know that when I say a socially useful purpose many of you picture a very dry and uninteresting plot. That need not be so if imagination is brought to bear—in fact the plot of one of our recent one-reel productions is merely this: "A youngster lends his stamp collection to another lad who accidentally loses a valuable stamp. The boy to whom the stamp collection belongs refuses to forgive, but later he damages a book belonging to some one else and desires his forgiveness. He then realizes his own lack of understanding and tolerance and the two boys become pals again."

That is what we mean by a simple and purposeful picture. It called on all the imagination and skill of the director, cameraman, and light man, but resulted in a compact and interesting little photoplay with truly excellent performances by the two youngsters.

But, to go back a moment, after writing the story in scenario form it should be broken down and a script book made. This should be a veritable encyclopedia of facts regarding the production: the costumes worn by each player in each scene, the number of feet of film estimated for each shot to take, all the scenes that could be filmed on the same set at the same work period, etc ; in fact, the script clerk should be able to find the answer to any question regarding the production in a few seconds and some one completely unfamiliar with the film should be able to get a bird's-eye view, clearly and concisely, of the entire photoplay by merely reading the script book.

This brings us to our next point, that of selecting the players or cast. Do not waste too much time and money in attempting to hire semiprofessional or experienced actors. Every one has a secret or not too secret desire to act and, given the proper encouragement, amateurs give an amazingly good account of themselves.

Select stories to fit your particular group as regards types and ages

for your cast and if you have an "elderly man" part, for example, it would be better to enlist the help of your grandfather rather than make up a young man for the part. Avoid make-up in all cases as much as possible since, unless applied by experts, it is almost always detectable. In selecting your own group as players you will not only avoid the so-called artistic temperament and gain a willingness on the part of your cast to follow directions without quibbling, but, most valuable of all, you will gain a simple sincerity of portrayal that will get across convincingly to your audiences.

As far as sets are concerned, it has been our experience that it is simplest and least expensive to use real locations. In other words, if the script calls for a tenement bedroom, get in touch with some social-service agency and, by paying the tenant a few dollars for electricity consumed and the inconvenience, it is possible to take in your cast and lights and film your scenes in a short time. Artificial sets are expensive to build and too often are obviously stage settings. Using authentic sets also does away with the necessity and expense of many properties that might never be used again.

An economic photographic technique is comparatively simple to attain. If you use a photocell exposure meter according to directions you cannot miss on the score of exposure and the use of supersensitive film and a fast lens, while more expensive to begin with, save money in lighting equipment, bulbs, and current. Do not be misled by still pictures from Hollywood taken on the sets and showing innumerable lights, both flood and spot, pouring on the scene from every side. You do not need them and with study can even duplicate Hollywood lighting effects with simple equipment. In most of our work we use only one main source for over-all lighting, such as a No. 4 Photoflood and then a few simple and inexpensive reflectors to accent certain characters or points of interest.

The director will also do well to forget Hollywood with its shooting of the same scene fifty times or so over the period of a whole day to get a good result. I have always considered that a reflection on the

intelligence of Hollywood. Take your action bit by bit, rehearse each scene carefully four or five times, film it twice or three times at the most, and you will in most cases get as good a result as you ever can. Filming a scene twice may seem doubtful economy but it is less trouble and expense than having something go slightly wrong and unobserved in one of the shots necessitating going back for retakes, as would happen had it only been photographed once.

In conclusion, we admit that all this sounds like work—and it really is work, make no mistake about that—but it is also fun, and it is one of the most beneficial recreations known, if we are to believe psychologists who tell us that the finest recreations are the creative ones, for you will find every part of producing a photoplay, from script to screen, calling forth your very best efforts if the results are to be worth the undertaking.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF REVIEW OF MOTION PICTURES—HOW IT WORKS

WILTON A. BARRETT

Executive Secretary, National Board of Review of Motion Pictures

The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures is a volunteer citizen body whose aim is to help the public clarify and record what it feels about motion pictures, to provide a leadership in expressing appreciation in a practical way of the best that the motion-picture screen presents, and in supplying effective encouragement to those forces in motion-picture production which may be looked to for the development of the screen's great potentialities, both recreationally and educationally. Its method is through country-wide affiliations. The National Board is opposed to legal censorship regarding all forms of the motion picture, as it is opposed to dictatorship of the screen by any arbitrary group, its own function being that of a non-partisan, nonsectarian organization.

It believes that far more constructive than censorship or repression is the method of selecting the better pictures, publishing descriptive, classified lists of them, and building up audiences and support for them through the work of community groups, thus speaking to the producer through the unmistakable terms of the box office. In face of the undeniable fact that every man, within the limits set by the law, has the right to the kind of entertainment he prefers—in motion pictures as well as in reading, sports, playgoing, music—the National Board has good reason based on experience to continue in its belief that, slow as the process may be, the public taste can be educated and improved. One of the most effective ways of building that improvement is to help the public to a consciousness of what its taste really is, and give it some voice in the selection of its entertainment.

The National Board is equally concerned with motion pictures as

a means of education. It recognizes that motion pictures are of great importance in adult education and of still greater importance as an instrument in the cultural and technical education of youth. Though it does not pass on purely educational films, the Board tries at all times and in every possible way to further the general use of motion pictures as teaching tools in visual instruction. A large part of its purpose is to spread among the public through its affiliated citizen groups and direct contacts and through institutions of education a realization of the enormous possibilities contained in motion pictures as an aid to teaching. It strives to make effective this effort by supplying up-to-date information on suitable available films in the educational field. This is becoming more and more an important part of its activities.

The National Board derives its income in three ways:

1. It makes a prorata charge of \$6.25 to film producers or distributors for every 1,000 feet of film reviewed. This charge is against the so-called negative or master prints. The Board has never added a charge for what are called positive reels, the numerous prints that go into the theaters, which is the practice of several of the State censor boards. The \$6.25 for each reel reviewed is the sole charge.

2. It receives a modest amount for the sale of its informational literature, its bulletin service, and magazine. As the demand for this service increases it is slowly putting this work on a self-sustaining basis. The department of the National Motion Picture Council is partially sustained by membership fees of two kinds: associate membership at \$2.00 a year, and coöperating membership at \$10.00 a year. A fee of \$1.00 is asked from each member of an organized group affiliated under the National Council or Motion Picture Study Club plan.

3. The Board is open to donations from public-spirited funds or individuals not connected with the motion-picture industry.

The National Board's finances are administered by its Executive

Committee.¹ All items within its budget—the office overhead comprising rent, salaries, printing, together with such moderate sums as are expended for traveling expenses and publicity—are apportioned by and paid at the direction of the Executive Committee. The accounts of the Board are audited by a certified public accountant. All checks are signed by the Board's treasurer. Therefore, the sole disposal of the Board's funds is in the hands of its Executive Committee.

The National Board of Review carries on its work through various committees. All members of the Board serve without pay. They are representatives of varied interests and activities and many are, like the Board's founders, connected with large public-welfare organizations or educational institutions. No member is or may be connected with the motion-picture industry according to the regulations governing membership on the Board. The only people working for the Board who receive any salary are the office staff, which operates the machinery of arranging reviews, collating the judgments of the Review Committee as recorded on their ballots, and disseminating the information prepared by the Board for its public. No member of the office staff has any vote in the decisions of the Board's committees. The staff is employed by the Executive Committee.

The Board's work is handled by the following committees:

1. The General Committee, a body evolved out of the original group organized in 1909 by Charles Sprague Smith, director of the People's Institute. It is the governing and advisory body, the appeal committee of the National Board, to which policies are referred and to which questioned decisions of the Review Committee may be carried either by the producers or by members of the Review Committee itself. It also meets in an advisory capacity with the Committee on *Exceptional Photoplays*.

¹ Composed of Frank Astor, A. A. Brill, John R. Davies, Raymond L. Ditmars, Vanessa Grover, Frederic C. Howe, J. K. Paulding, Walter W. Pettit, Langdon Post, Miriam Sutro Price, Marguerite E. Schwarzman, Frederic M. Thrasher, George J. Zehrung, and George W. Kirchwey, *chairman*, all serving without remuneration.

2. The Executive Committee, composed of members of the General Committee, is the directing body of the Board, authorized by the General Committee to be in charge of the formulation of policies, the election of members, the expenditure of funds, and the supervision of all administrative affairs. The chairman of the Executive Committee is the chairman of the National Board.

3. The Membership Committee, which supervises the membership list of reviewers and the work of the review secretaries, regulates the routine of membership matters and recommends the names of proposed new reviewers to the consideration of the Executive Committee.

4. The Review Committee, the large group of over three hundred members who carry on the actual work of reviewing films. It is divided into subgroups who meet according to schedule with a secretary from the office staff in the projection rooms of the various motion-picture companies to review the company's productions. After looking at the picture and discussing it as much as the picture may require, they fill out ballots which record their individual judgments as to selection and classification. The majority judgment goes out as the Board's report on the film.

The Review Committee is composed of men and women, of all ages and vocations, and represents an effort to create a cross section of public opinion. A probationary term of service is required of each prospective member, at the end of which the record is examined and the individual capabilities for review work scrutinized by the Membership Committee before election is recommended to the Executive Committee. Members are elected for a period of six months, and for every six months thereafter as long as their interest and attendance at review meetings is maintained and their ability is up to the requirements of the work. The monthly average of attendance is about twelve members a meeting.

5. The Committee on Exceptional Photoplays, a group of critics and students of the motion picture, whose professional or private interest is primarily in the motion picture as a form of art. This

Committee meets at least once a week to look at films recommended to them for unusual qualities and contributes critical discussions of outstanding films to the Exceptional Photoplays Department of the *National Board of Review Magazine*.

In addition to its critical work, this Committee occasionally sponsors private showings of out-of-the-ordinary films to invited audiences, and through assisting community groups to show such films in schools, clubs, or in local theaters, through cooperation with their exhibitors, tries to increase general appreciation of the aesthetic aspects of the motion picture. It is the pioneer group in this kind of work, and the originator of the Little Photoplay Theatre idea, its activity dating back to 1917.

The basic work of the National Board, insofar as the popular entertainment films are concerned, is the review of motion pictures intended for distribution to the public of the United States, which are submitted by the film companies before they are released to the country at large. This does not include newsreels, strictly scenic and educational subjects, and industrial films. This review work is a conscientious attempt to reflect the attitude of the national mind as to what are the most desirable pictures. Regarding the passing of pictures, "Passed by the National Board of Review" does not necessarily mean that the Board approves or recommends the picture on which that legend appears. In all cases it means that in the opinion of the reviewing committee the picture will not have a subversive effect upon large numbers of persons in different sections of the country, nor be subversive of the obscenity laws. The Board's opinion is that police laws, when invoked, constitute the public's protection. The Board's legend further means that the reviewing committee in so passing a film has detected in it, judging in a common-sense way by its probable net moral effect on an audience in a motion-picture theater, nothing that violates in part or in whole what amounts to the common law against the publication of the immoral, obscene, or what is detrimental to public morality.

The important part of the reviewing committee's work is now

that of selection and classification, and the legend of the National Board to appear on films has been changed to "Classified and Passed by the National Board of Review."

Censoring—demanding that cuts or changes be made in a film—has been abandoned by the Board entirely. Occasionally, out of its long experience in the study of the psychological reactions of motion-picture audiences to what they see and its careful research into the facts regarding what can surely be considered unsafe and ill-advised in films intended for public showing, the Board sometimes offers its advice to producers, in a purely extra-editorial way. A constant reference to what the Board has learned about public opinion is kept in mind in its reviewing of films, remembering always the great problem that makes censorship so impracticable, that problem which arises out of the established, ascertained differences of reaction between individuals, groups, communities, and even whole sections of the country regarding screen entertainment.

The object in reviewing films is to get a representative group opinion on each film reviewed. When a committee is in doubt about whether its decision is a fair and proper one, or when any film that may be seriously questioned is shown, that particular picture is passed on to a second, sometimes a third, or fourth group, with a report from each preceding committee to the next, until a just, carefully defined group opinion is reached. A secretary who believes that a particular committee has made a decision contrary to the principles of the review work or beyond the proper scope of the Board's action may appeal the film under consideration to a second group or to the General Committee, which acts as the final committee of appeal. Any member of the minority of any committee, acting to the best of his or her convictions for the same reasons, has a similar privilege. There is never any attempt to coerce an individual's opinion.

Selections are made by considering four values in a film, the entertainment value, the artistic value, the instructional value, and the

ethical value. If the entertainment value is found to be good and none of the others poor, the picture is selected. If the entertainment value is excellent, above that of the average selected picture, the film is given a star. Classification is made according to the audience for which the picture is considered suitable—and by suitable is also meant enjoyable. The mature audience includes people of adult minds, generally speaking all over eighteen years of age, though age limitations have to be allowed plenty of individual exceptions. The family audience includes practically all ages, since parents often take quite young children to the "movies" with them, but for rough classification people twelve years old and up are taken to be the family audience. Pictures selected for juvenile audiences are those which children, for particular reasons, are likely to enjoy.

In addition to their selections and classifications, the Review Committee also recommends any pictures that seem suitable for special uses: for schools or libraries, for their cultural or instructional values, for church use, and for the list of films worth keeping permanently available. Pictures with unusual qualities are recommended to the Committee on Exceptional Photoplays.

The individual ballots made out by review members on every picture are kept on file at the office of the Board and constitute the data on the basis of which all information about films is sent out.

The National Board is the pioneer organization in collecting and distributing this sort of information, representing a trained group opinion, prior to the national release of films. This information appears in the *Weekly Official Bulletin*, a *Weekly Guide to Selected Pictures*, and monthly in the *National Board of Review Magazine*. The National Board's lists afford a source to which any individual or group or public official can go for authoritative information regarding both old and current motion pictures of all descriptions and suitable for all uses, such as special community showings and special programs for children. The fairness and wisdom of the Board's lists, as expressing and interpreting the mind of the American people on

the important subject of motion pictures, is continually testified to by the general sentiment, afterwards ascertained, of the great majority of the motion-picture public, when the pictures are released.

One of the most urgent problems connected with the motion picture, ever since any one recognized that there were any problems at all, has been the question of the influence of films on children. Many investigations have been made to determine what effect "movies" have on young children, some of them with legitimate claims to be called scientific research, others—equally claiming to be scientific—obviously molded by biased opinions and a determination to prove some preconceived individual theory. Several years ago the National Board, realizing that adults are prone to let their conception of the juvenile mind be tinged by their own uncertainties and fears, decided to find out by studying children themselves just what the children were most interested in and most affected by in the motion pictures they saw. To this end, in the spring of 1931, the Junior Review Committee was organized, which has since grown into what is called the Young Reviewers Club. This group of boys and girls, ranging in age from eight to sixteen years, coming from public and private schools and community organizations in or near New York City and representing all sorts of homes and grades of society, has its own reviews where it looks at films and discusses them under the leadership of one of its own number, without dictation or direction from any older person. They first record their opinions on ballots similar to the ballots of the adult Review Committee, and then talk the film over. Free from any consciousness of adult supervision, which so often makes children attune their expressed opinions to what they think is expected of them, these discussions are remarkably frank and spontaneous. Usually the only adult present is the Board secretary who takes down in shorthand all the remarks made, and at the end of the meeting asks questions to bring out points that may not have been covered by the discussion.

This work, in addition to being an invaluable check for adults to

apply their own ideas of juvenile reactions, is of immense educational value in making increasingly larger numbers of young people critically conscious of what they see in motion pictures, and creating a larger future audience for the "movies" which will be more selectively discerning, more aware of the difference between good and poor, and more insistent in its demand for something worth while. The mere act of discussing among themselves awakens the critical faculty in children, and the Board has found that the sanity and intelligence of its Young Reviewers Club is on quite as high a level as that of any average group of adults. The critical faculty develops so rapidly that the Board has found it necessary to recruit new groups of children constantly, in order to keep the reactions naïve and unsophisticated. The Young Reviewers number about four hundred, representing around one hundred schools.

The Board's National Advisory Committee is composed of prominent citizens in various important cities of the country. This Committee functions as individuals who when called upon give the Board information as to local attitudes and trends regarding motion pictures. Its members act in a purely advisory capacity and are elected from among people who are in general agreement with the Board's point of view. Numerous persons in this group have been actively identified in the Board's working Committee in a routine capacity.

The National Motion Picture Council is that group of leaders representing the widespread community interest in developing motion pictures toward all of their best uses recreationally and educationally. It represents the department of the National Board which has to do with carrying on its field program. It is in contact with and represents the local affiliated groups known by such names as "Motion Picture Councils," "Better Films Councils," "Better Films Committees," and "Motion Picture Study Clubs." It constitutes the national channels through which the work of the Board is spread north, east, south, and west. It represents a growth in successive

stages from the Board's early Committee on Children's Pictures and Programs, organized in June 1916, and the National Committee for Better Films, founded later in the same year. The local groups are composed of people who are interested and active in the attempt not only to keep good films from dying out through lack of sufficient appreciation but to increase the audiences and therefore the demand for better films. The motion picture, being a mass product, depends more than any other form of art on mass support, and can develop only through an organized effort to promote its development.

The various community councils in different parts of the country follow the plan initiated by the National Board in 1916 of gathering into their membership representatives of important local organizations—cultural, educational, religious, civic, recreational—so that they contain as many as possible of the progressive elements of leadership in the community. The objectives of such organizations are:

To demonstrate through the education of public opinion the effectiveness of selection and classification, instead of censorship, as a means of forwarding the development of the motion picture and its best uses

To encourage through open meetings, forums, classes, and other means the study of the motion picture as a medium of entertainment, education, and artistic expression

To concentrate the attention of the public on specific worth-while films through the publication of a *Photoplay Guide* to the selected pictures being currently shown at local theaters

To arrange family Friday night or week-end programs of selected films, and junior matinees of pictures particularly suited to the tastes of children, through cooperation with local exhibitors

To endorse and further the use of visual education through motion pictures in the schools

To arrange and promote occasional exhibitions of exceptional and cultural films that would not ordinarily be shown in the commercial theaters.

The National Motion Picture Council numbers among its New York and field members educators, ministers, and officials of various

social, cultural, recreational, civic, patriotic, and other organizations, most of them national. The Council is composed of fifty-two councilors residing in various States, affiliated community councils, cooperating and associate members in every State, with correspondents in all States and countries. Associate and cooperating dues-paying memberships are open to any individual or group whose purpose and methods are similar to those of the National Board.

Thus the purpose of the National Motion Picture Council is to serve as a general clearing house on information regarding local community activities dealing with motion pictures.

The information service of the Board, conveying to the public the results of the critical or review service, is offered through its various publications as follows:

The *National Board of Review Magazine* includes articles on varied phases of motion-picture activity and interest, and information regarding the Board's work. In addition to the general articles there are the following departments: Exceptional Photoplays, Selected Pictures Guide, Better Films Forum.

The *Weekly Guide to Selected Pictures* is compiled each Friday. It gives current information in the form of short reviews and audience classification on the pictures selected by the Review Committees each week.

The *Weekly Official Bulletin* is a list of pictures passed by the Board and is of especial interest to city officials, but exhibitors and better-films groups also find it helpful.

Aside from the above mentioned regular publications the Board issues several special catalogues and lists, and special film lists such as Educational Films, Music Films, Foreign Films, Junior Matinee Films, Selected Book-Films, Exceptional Photoplays, etc.

For many years now the National Board and its affiliated groups have held annual conferences in New York City. The purpose has been to develop constructive thought about the motion picture as a means of social usefulness. It has been the hope of the National

Board that through these conferences interested groups and individuals could be brought together to amalgamate intelligent opinion about films, so as to help onward a liberal social program which will defend the rights of the screen as a medium of ideas and intelligence in all the possible facets of its expression.

The National Board was not created by the motion-picture industry, is not and never has been controlled by the motion-picture industry, and is distinct in its operation and the conduct of its financial affairs from any organization which at any time has been created by, or has acted for, the industry. On the other hand, the Board has always been willing to cooperate with any agency in or outside of the motion-picture industry which holds out possibilities for the proper furtherance of its work and aims; namely, those entailed in bringing help, encouragement, and, wherever possible, guidance to the motion picture in developing its possibilities and achieving its future as a great medium of expression.²

² An account of the history and philosophy of the National Board of Review may be found in a pamphlet called "The National Board of Review—Its Background, Growth and Present Status,"—available on request from the Board office, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

HARVARD NEWSREEL STUDY

A committee of political scientists and psychologists at Harvard University are to conduct a study of propaganda in the newsreels under a grant from the Committee on Research in the Social Sciences. Professor Carl J. Friedrich of the political-science department is to be assisted by Richard L. Schanck and Douglass MacGregor of the department of psychology and E. P. Herring of the department of government. The joint program hopes to cover several different phases of the problem from special angles of social psychology, public opinion, public administration, *et cetera*.¹

WPA BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PROJECT ON THE CINEMA

An important bibliographical research project has been authorized by the Works Progress Administration as one of the Federal Writers' Projects and is proceeding under the direction of Harold Lefkovits who is being assisted by Dorothy Dannenberg and Philip Sterling. A complete bibliographical catalogue of all historical and current materials on the motion picture is being prepared and the most important articles and books are being abstracted for the use of students in this field.

¹ Statement furnished through the courtesy of Dr. Richard L. Schanck of the department of psychology, Harvard University.

BOOK REVIEWS

Movie Parade, by PAUL ROTH. London: The Studio, Ltd., 1936, 142 pages.

Magnificently illustrated with reproductions of "stills" from notable films, Paul Roth's book presents an interesting picture of the various types of motion pictures classified according to his own categories. The volume is composed mainly of illustrations designed to give the reader a graphic appreciation of typical outstanding films which have made motion-picture history in the various fields of motion-picture production. Since the author is mainly interested in the entertainment or theater-shown film, the major portion of his work deals with films of fiction and their various subcategories which he groups under adventure and melodrama, comedy, romance, historical and chronicle, fantasy, drama, and epic. There are a few paragraphs of printed text accompanying each group of pictures stating very briefly the artistic and historical significance of the illustrations. Under the title, *Films of Fact*, the author has a significant collection of material illustrating the newsreel and travel, instructional and documentary films, and he concludes his work with a discussion of *avant-garde* and trick films. The extensive presentation of pictures in this book is probably more effective in giving the reader a graphic appreciation of the development of the motion picture than the printed word alone, but, as Roth admits himself, no still photographs can take the place of seeing the motion pictures because the essence and genius of the cinema is motion.

How to Write a Movie, by ARTHUR L. GALE. New York: E. Byrne Hackett, Brick Row Bookshop, Inc., 1936, 199 pages.

Arthur Gale, editor of *Movie Makers* magazine, has written an indispensable book for the amateur movie maker, and one which will be especially useful to the school photoplay club and its faculty adviser. The work is a handbook on movie planning, continuity and scenario writing, silent and sound, for amateur and nontheatrical movie makers—how to make a really entertaining amateur picture with theatrical smoothness and suavity, and yet film it with a minimum of effort.

Basic principles of film planning are outlined in simple terms for new movie makers and are illustrated with numerous examples of movie episodes of the sort that any amateur can record. A step-by-step discussion

of more advanced treatment is given, and the use of all cinematic devices and effects available to individual cameramen is discussed and illustrated fully. The beginner will find this an easy, understandable introduction to film planning, written from his point of view. Movie makers with a background of experience are offered a clear analysis of the subtleties of film planning. Continuity principles, plot, and scenario writing for documentary pictures, industrials, publicity films, and photoplays are discussed thoroughly. Indispensable advice on how to plan a picture with a purpose is given.

Music and sound effects, obtained with turntable and records, are covered and, for the first time in book form, writing cue sheets and planning pictures for sound on film post synchronization or lecture presentation is discussed in detail for the amateur and the industrial movie maker. Simple methods of getting entertaining pictures with amateur sound cameras are offered and direct sound recording and lip synchronization are discussed from the planning and continuity viewpoint. How to write a talkie scenario is told and this is illustrated with sample talkie scripts.

A complete silent scenario, ready for amateur production, is included and a chapter is devoted to planning natural color movies. An up-to-date glossary of technical terms and a complete index accompany the text.

Theatre Collections in Libraries and Museums, by ROSAMOND GILDER AND GEORGE FREEDLEY. New York: Theatre Arts, Inc., 1936, 182 pages.

This volume is an international handbook describing the theater collections of the world's leading libraries. Just what is a theater collection is a question which may occur to many readers. The theater collection of the New York Public Library is discussed by Mr. Freedley, one of the authors of this interesting little book, elsewhere in this issue of *THE JOURNAL*. To put it briefly, a theater collection contains everything pertaining to the theater (and now the motion picture) which a library can save and catalogue. It includes books, catalogues, and bibliographies, scrap-books, prompt-books, scripts, scenarios, prints, engravings, "stills," photographs, autographs, and a vast amount of "fugitive material" like playbills, programs, pressbooks, and clippings. The theater collection is in constant use not only by students of the cinema and the theatre, but also by the motion-picture industry and the dramatic profession as well.

The authors of this handbook have performed a real service both to the

stage and to the cinema by cataloguing the resources of the libraries and museums of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and South America as well as those of Europe and Asia. In addition, Mr. Freedley has included a valuable chapter on the care and preservation of fugitive material.

Romeo and Juliet, by WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. (A motion-picture edition.) New York: Random House, 1936, 290 pages.

This motion-picture edition of Shakespeare's immortal tragedy is of especial interest in view of the exceptional photoplay which has been made from the classic drama. In addition to the standard Shakespeare text, the volume, handsomely illustrated with photographs from the screen play, presents the complete scenario version used in making the motion picture. According to William Strunk, Jr., professor of English, Cornell, literary adviser on the production, and author of the foreword to the volume, "The screen version of *Romeo and Juliet* aims primarily at being faithful to Shakespeare's conception of the story and doing justice to the poetic beauty of the play." In preparing the screen version four principles were agreed upon by the late Irving Thalberg, the producer, George Cukor, the director, and Talbot Jennings, the scenarist. "First, Shakespeare's dialogue must be retained. Second, all details—settings, costumes, properties, manners—must be harmonious and in accord with the period. Third, perfect clarity. This means restoring scenes customarily omitted on the stage and converting some of the narrated incidents into action. Fourth, full justice must be done to the poetic content . . ."

The volume is unusually interesting to the student of motion pictures because of the brief articles it contains by the leading actress and actors in the production and by a number of those who played an important part in preparing the script, the settings, and the costumes for the photoplay. The book will undoubtedly do a great deal to stimulate popular interest in Shakespeare's works and to motivate the academic study of the poet with the universal enthusiasm of the young for the motion picture.

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EDITORIAL

It is well to keep our readers conscious of the purpose of educational sociology and the function of THE JOURNAL in relation to that subject and therefore reiterations in the editorials occur. These reiterations will serve the purpose of keeping our readers aware of our point of view and acquaint our newcomers with it. Educational sociology, as conceived by the editorial board, is a science, at least a seeking to be scientific in method and spirit, although it is new to the scientific field and most of the writers in the past have approached the problem of sociology from a philosophical point of view. As a science, educational sociology seeks to describe and explain and, through experimentation, provide data relating to the conscious control of social behavior. We mean by this not merely the control of behavior of the individual as a member of a group, but also the social patterns which characterize the communities.

We are seeking during the current year and perhaps in following years to give emphasis to this point of view by presenting concrete material from the field. No doubt there are numerous problems involving a sociological approach to education that THE JOURNAL is not familiar with and we should be pleased to have our readers bring to our attention any such problems so that we may, so far as possible, give a fairly complete picture of the newer sociological emphasis in education, particularly in the coordination of activities now operating in the country.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

HOW THE NURSE CAN COORDINATE AND PROMOTE THE SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAM

HELEN C. MANZER

New York University

When the nurse enters a school system of moderate size, she finds herself associated with the principal or superintendent, the teachers, the janitor, the school physician, the dentist, the oral hygienist, the nutritionist, and the physical educator. Each of these school staff members is professionally trained to perform a specialized task.

THE TYPE OF SCHOOL MAKES A DIFFERENCE

It is through the principal or superintendent that the nurse becomes acquainted with the type of educational program that is being carried on in this particular system. The kind of school system will materially affect and frequently completely determine the nature of the program organized for promoting the welfare of the children. The educational policy establishes the limits within which the nurse may formulate a program. A given program of school health may be admirable in both plan and execution within a rigid, conventional type of school system, but be totally unsuited to the requirements of a progressive system, organized to cultivate the abilities of children with individual and differing interests. Even such a difference as that between a single and a double session can materially alter the health program. It is necessary, therefore, that the nurse supplement her professional knowledge with a rather detailed understanding of current educational thought, in order that she may clearly identify the type of system in which she has become a worker.

FUNCTIONS OF OTHER EXPERTS

The functions of the school nurse will be seen most clearly if the functions of the other professional persons in the school program are summarized briefly.

The principal or superintendent interprets for the school system the educational philosophy of the board of education. The child's health is affected by such activities of the principal or superintendent as the determination of the time schedule, the location and distribution of subject matter, the selection of the teaching staff, the maintenance of the morale of the staff, and the cultivation of friendly relations with parent and community groups.

The teacher guides the child's educational program from day to day. Her role in the development of the child's education is a challenge to all the ability and competence she possesses. The most effective teacher cannot be expected to be an expert in every one of the many fields and specialties which are involved at the present time in the educative process. The really competent teacher will be fully aware of the boundaries of her own information and will be happy to coöperate with other specialists in the forwarding of the child's welfare. The teacher controls the environmental conditions of the classroom and to some extent of the school at large, including such conditions as ventilation, seating, lighting, and cleanliness. The daily health inspection is best carried on by her because she meets the children every day and is in a better position to recognize deviations from the child's usual good health. She applies the principles of healthy living throughout the school day to the situations within the school.

The physical environment of the children within the school is regulated by the janitor. He is directly responsible for the heating, illumination, care of the lavatories and drinking fountains, the cleanliness of the school, the inspection and maintenance of safety devices, and the elimination of accident hazards, such as broken glass and splintering floors.

The school physician conducts the medical examination of the children. He should also meet the parents at the time of the child's examination to interpret his findings and to suggest remedial treatment. The physician may, further, conduct toxoid clinics, vaccina-

tion clinics, tuberculin tests, and, if possible, interpret X-ray films of the children who have reacted positively to tuberculin.

The dentist fills or extracts the teeth of the children who have dental caries. In addition, he may instruct each child he treats in prophylaxis and diet. Often he supplies the classroom teacher with information in matters concerning dental health.

Preparation for a visit to the dentist and also follow-up of the work done by the dentist constitute the responsibility of the oral hygienist. She cleans the teeth of all the children, locates dental caries, and refers to the dentist those children who have dental caries. She may also instruct each child in the care of his teeth and in the selecting of those foods which will aid in the developing and keeping of sound, healthy teeth.

Cases of undernourishment found by the physician can be followed up by the nutritionist. Such a follow-up program involves conferring with the parents in the home, the giving of information to parents regarding their own diet and that of their children, and the offering of suggestions regarding the wise expenditure of money to ensure a well-balanced diet for the whole family. These contacts and functions will provide the nutritionist with valuable information concerning the family background and dietary problems of the children, which she will share with the teachers. Wherever children have any of their meals at school, it is highly desirable that the nutritionist act as dietician for the school cafeterias or lunchrooms.

The activity program of the school is directed by the physical educator. He instructs the teachers in methods and content for carrying out the activity program and also for adapting developmental play to various ages and to differing physical abilities. Since in the schoolroom and on the playground children occasionally meet with accidents, there is included in the professional education of the physical educator a knowledge of the techniques for applying first-aid treatment.

THE NURSE AS COORDINATOR OF THE HEALTH PROGRAM

The foregoing summary of the functions of the personnel in the school program now suggests a consideration of the place and functions of the school nurse in this program. Equipped with professional education in the field of health and also possessing information regarding the essential functions of the school system, the nurse is the logical coordinator of the health program of the school system. She will develop the school health program toward the attainment of the following objectives: (1) the control of communicable disease, including tuberculosis, (2) the dissemination of information for the maintenance and improvement of good health, (3) the explanation of the significance of the child's physical condition to the child himself, to his teacher, and to his parents, (4) the supervision of the correction of physical defects that may be found in the medical examination, and (5) the education of parents in such phases of child health as the physical examination of the pre-school child, the correction of physical defects found, the immunization of the child against smallpox and diphtheria, improvement of the child's diet, and control of the child's daily program of play activities, sleeping conditions, and food habits.

THE NURSE AS PROMOTER OF THE HEALTH PROGRAM

At the outset, the nurse must win support for the school health program. Occasionally a nurse will explain the failure of the program on the ground that the program was not supported. Such a position neglects the vital fact that the first step in the development of a program is the securing of such support. Among the persons whose support should be won, the principal or superintendent holds first place. Trained in school administration and accustomed to think in terms of educational policy and community reactions, the average principal or superintendent is seldom at the beginning an enthusiastic promoter of the school health program. Such initial in-

difference must not, however, be interpreted by the nurse as opposition; it is, rather, the neutral position from which the nurse must begin her campaign of arousing the principal's enthusiasm. Among the several ways in which the principal's interest may be aroused, the three following ones have proved to be rather definitely successful:

1. After the nurse has formulated a possible program of procedure, she should consult with the principal regarding his own plans for a health program. If, as is so frequently the case, the principal has given no detailed thought to this matter, the nurse may then offer her program for the principal's consideration and revision. Frequently the principal will authorize the nurse to begin the working out of the program she has formulated. Since, however, this program has been approved by the principal, from the administrative point of view, the program is now officially the principal's and the nurse is now empowered to carry out the principal's plan. It is evident that the procedure outlined above presupposes a considerable amount of resourcefulness and tact on the part of the nurse, that is to say, the nurse must under no circumstances try to claim "credit" for the formulation of the health program she has been authorized to carry out. The insistence upon receiving "credit" or "appreciation" has brought disaster upon many well-formulated programs. It is to the success of the complete health program in terms of child improvement, extending often over a period of years, that the nurse must look for her professional satisfaction.

2. For the securing of coöperation of other individuals in the school organization, such as the classroom teachers, janitor, physical educator, visiting teachers, the nurse must depend upon her own presentation and convincingness. She must not expect the principal or superintendent, using the administrative power of his office, to remove all opposition and friction from her path by coercive methods. The support which the health program receives from all the officers in the school system must be based on sincere conviction, not

upon orders which have been received from "above." The nurse must not go to the principal for the solution of her difficulties; she must, rather, through personal tact, persuasiveness, and ability, adjust and remove such hindrances as may arise in the details of carrying out the program.

INTERPRETING THE PROGRESS OF THE HEALTH PROGRAM
THROUGH CHARTS

3. When the nurse goes to the principal, she should do so to share with him the satisfaction of successes fairly won. An effective way to show the principal the progress of the health program is through a display of simple and accurate charts. Such charts presuppose an intelligent and diligent use of records. The intelligent use of records implies that the nurse will always critically question the purpose for which the records are being kept, and will recognize the significance of the facts she wishes to determine from them. Her records should enable her, for example, to show the principal by charts whether the absence from school for all kinds of illnesses has been reduced since she came to the school system in the capacity of coordinator of the health program. In addition, data from the records should provide figures concerning the distribution of illnesses according to type, the changes in specific illness rates from year to year, the results of a campaign for the control of colds, and the seasonal distribution of various illnesses. Administrators are frequently interested in the fact that a small percentage of the total number of children is responsible for a large percentage of the total number of absences. Such charts, accompanied by brief and non-technical descriptive matter, are welcomed by most school administrators.

Often a principal is requested at short notice to address the school board, the service club, or a meeting of educators. Under such circumstances the principal or superintendent will sometimes make use of the charts and descriptions prepared by the nurse. Because

such charts increase the effectiveness of the principal's address and bring to him favorable comment concerning the work of his school, the principal comes to regard the health program and the nurse who is coordinating it as valued means for maintaining and improving satisfactory professional relations between himself and those individuals and groups in the community whose good will he aims to foster. Any nurse who, by some such means as those described, has succeeded in making herself and her abilities indispensable to her principal or superintendent, has attained for herself, for the health program of the whole school, and for the welfare of the children whom she is serving a secure place in the total organization of the school system

EVALUATION OF THE WORK OF THE HELPING TEACHER IN THE SMALL SCHOOL SYSTEM

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To have supervision in the elementary school and yet escape the evils of overorganization has been the main concern of the helping teacher in the past three years.

In all our supervisory activities in the past, emphasis has been placed on organization and technique; little attention has been paid to pupils' social backgrounds and the large amount of time spent out of school. The most vital and significant task in our administrative activities is not setting up a mechanically efficient organization. Rather, it is the establishing of a feeling of freedom in one's job; encouragement; absence of pressure; release from fear; subtle, indirect direction; making the teacher feel that she is of the utmost importance in this whole scheme. The importance of this personal aspect cannot be overestimated because it is there all the time in the daily life of the pupils and teachers.

The establishing of the helping teacher in the system was for the primary purpose of changing the attitude of the pupils and teachers in the teaching of reading. The second objective was to emphasize the importance of the teacher's knowing the whole child; not only as related to school but his home and community relationships.

In the three-year period from September 1932 through June 1935 not only was the reading vastly improved in the school but the attitudes of pupils and teachers were markedly changed. Not once during this period was the helping teacher mentioned in any other phase but that of being a sympathetic guide and adviser to teachers and pupils.

The work started off in the fall of 1932 with a definite program of

testing and interpreting of tests. Achievement tests were planned for with the teachers, about two thirds of them being administered and scored by the helping teacher herself. There was much clerical work and computation of results for each class; interpretations were talked over with teachers. Special individual tests were given where special problems arose.

A group test survey was made with a later checkup by groups where results disagreed. Interpretations of children's levels of ability were made with the teachers. Individual mental tests (Binet) were given to sixteen pupils. The reasons were to check up wide disagreements between group tests for a better analysis and measurement of ability of problem children in cases of special promotion desired or for examining candidates for special class.

The helping teacher coached a small group from each of ten different divisions from third grade through the sixth.

Teachers were assisted in classroom organization of groups, materials to be used, and methods. Their classroom teaching was observed, conferences were held with the teachers to discuss silent reading, and an adequate checkup was made. When teachers were having difficulties in curricular adjustments, help was given to them.

At the end of the first year many gains were found in the changes of attitudes and achievement. For instance, "R. in the fall 2.65; in the spring 4.3; gain 1.65." Or, R.'s first level was midsecond grade, the final level was early fourth grade; the gain was about one and a half years.

Changes in social attitudes of pupils occurred in numerous instances as, for example: "B. read most begrudgingly, behaved badly, was very difficult to interest in reading, tried all kinds of evasions and careless reading, would not follow suggestions about improving technique. He became interested in watching his score on a little monthly test. Finding that it had actually risen, he had his first idea of success. His score has steadily improved on this test; he has

watched anxiously for its coming each time; has grown proud of himself as he saw his successes. This has surely been at least partly responsible for his improved attitude toward reading from books. He is working now, and happily."

In the second year the same general outline was followed but more time was spent with assisting teachers in problems of grouping, materials, methods; reports for home or file; promotions; directing standard testing in grades and kindergarten, then making the test results understandable and useful.

At the close of the year it was evident from tests and operation that the reading situation in the whole school was better than a few years ago. The first and second grades showed fine results, being up to or better than the country-wide norms. This was accomplished by gradually eliminating the underage problem and by equalizing the two sections of each grade. Good teaching and improvement of method did the rest. The remaining sections of each grade (3, 4, 5, and 6), containing so many dull and nonbook-minded children, were really and definitely improving. Whereas the prevalent condition in those grades had been extreme retardation, some terribly slow and stubborn cases, and much individual underworking, there was distinct improvement in that condition.

The better sections of grades 3, 4, 5, and 6 were in excellent condition. They rated at country-wide norms in most cases or surpassed the normal expectations.

During the third year the helping teacher spent one full day each week visiting in the classrooms, thus giving an opportunity to see what the children were doing in their classrooms; to observe the supposedly typical reading methods used by the teacher; to see what response the class gave to these methods; and, therefore, be better equipped—because better informed—to make suggestions and plan with each teacher how to improve class response. Regular times were set aside before and after school for conferences with the teachers.

As a result of this work, more careful orientation of the new teacher in her work was undertaken, as well as helping the weak teacher master her problems. For example, Miss B., an inexperienced teacher with a slow 3B group, had difficulties in controlling her class, arranging materials, etc. She was under considerable strain because of grave illness in her family, resulting in discouragement in her work. By tactful and constant guidance and sympathetic understanding on the part of the helping teacher, Miss B. was able to improve and finish the year satisfactorily. That year she went to summer school and is now one of the outstanding teachers in primary work.

All of the teachers in the first six grades, with the aid of the helping teacher, conducted a comprehensive survey of home and community environment of the children, checking on all the out-of-school life of the pupils. This led to definite changes in teacher attitudes; in the curriculum; increasing parent-teacher contacts; improvement of health conditions and better care of undernourished children; and a change of materials in reading so that they hooked up with community and home life. It gave the teachers a better and more sympathetic understanding of the pupils in their care, leading to the almost complete elimination of teacher-pupil conflicts and behavior problems. This led to a closer coöperation between the church, boys' clubs, public-welfare organizations, and health agencies and the school.

The results were many.

1. Over the three-year period the home and community relationships of approximately seven hundred children have been studied.
2. Definite changes and modifications were made in the elementary course of study.
3. Retardation in grades was practically eliminated.
4. Pupils in group were classified along normal social lines and so-called slow and fast groups were eliminated as they had a bad psychological reaction on pupils and teachers.

5. One hundred and three different children were given special help in reading for varying amounts of time, some having help two or more years. In only a few cases have children slumped after dismissal and had to return for additional help. The vast majority of children were able to make adjustments to the natural classroom situation again and to proceed with responsibility and independence.

6. With 12 children in the three-year period not much success was attained. Five are explainable because of mental inability, two were nervous or neurotic types, and one was not present enough to learn. Four are inexplicable, probably in need of different methods

7. The work was not limited to only those having normal learning potentiality. Many were so-called dull, some were borderline cases. There was remarkable improvement in numbers of these slower children.

8. Nine cases of "impossibles" in spelling in the seventh and eighth grades were taken on and rather spectacular gains were made among these pupils. Charles improved from early fourth-grade level and stubborn despair to seventh grade. In all cases the children's attitudes and habits underwent a fine change.

9. Ninety-one out of 103 changed in social attitude because of the improvement in the skill, as shown by facts submitted.

10. This made more normal school citizens out of the children, by aiding them to help themselves grow out of their difficulties.

In brief, the result has been to make the right attitudes grow; to make these failing children successful; to develop their confidence in their own ability; to replace babyish dependence with more aggressive initiative and the courage to try; to bring about, through the satisfaction of work actually done, a wholesome conception of themselves as good workers.

DISCUSSION

From the above results the writer feels that there is a very definite place for the helping teacher in the smaller elementary school and, up to the present, sufficient attention has not been given to pupil

adjustment in the elementary field. In the carrying out of this work, a wide variety of school problems from kindergarten through high school, fell within the range of the helping teacher's influence. This paper is not of sufficient length for a detailed analysis of all the problems that came up. A short list will give the reader an idea of the scope of this work.

School behavior problems of children

Questions of mental ability and achievement; adjusting the course of study where possible to fit the restless, brighter child or the misbehaving slow child

Problems of classroom adjustment, shifting children from one room to another

Promotions

Classifying and placing new children

Suggesting changes in junior-high-school curriculum for slower pupils

Sending full reports to other schools about transferred pupils

Observation and advising on teachers' methods of teaching various subjects and of handling children

Conferring with all teachers on their groups' abilities and relative achievement and background

Suggesting books, materials, devices, groupings, application of the reading skills to other subjects

Interviewing and helping a little in the selection of teachers

Helping new, inexperienced teachers from the first to avoid difficulties or failure

Assisting with a "Reading Party" at a mothers' tea

Changing the stereotyped report card in the grades to a less formal sort as fast as parents and teachers can accept the idea

Trying to better the position of the "special class" in the school, through teachers' attitudes and planning civic responsibilities and duties about the school for special class members

Correcting the severe underage problem by raising the school-entrance age

Changing from the A and B grouping with its local disadvantages to heterogeneous grouping in grades 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5

Lengthening the elementary-school term for the slower (erstwhile B) sections

Diagnosis of reading difficulties in case of failing high-school student

SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY AND THE DAY NURSERY

ETHEL S. BEER

The day nursery deals primarily with the preschool children of working mothers. It, therefore, has contact with a broad and varied group in which are included different types of the so-called problem child. These can be divided into three main categories.

The first consists of those children who cannot be taken into a day nursery although they need care during their mothers' daily absence. These are the children with serious physical handicaps and the mentally defective. They do not belong with normal children because they cannot join in their activities on an equal basis. Their condition is so evident that they are refused when they apply.

In the second category are the children who do succeed in passing the nursery doors. They are admitted and given a fair trial. Just how long they are kept is a question of the administration of the particular day nursery. But ultimately, they too are excluded. There are a number of reasons for this measure. For instance, some children are violent: they break their plates and toys and are apt to hurt themselves and others. No efforts of the teachers can correct this behavior which obviously disrupts the regular activities of the classroom. Others cannot be trained in their physical habits: they will not eat, they do not control their bodily functions, and they vomit to order. Such children demand the entire attention of one person and are, therefore, not suitable in a group.

In the third group are the children who come into the nursery with the above reactions, yet do adapt themselves in the course of time. Even then it takes a tremendous amount of patience and individual care which is exceedingly wearing on the teacher and very hard on the other children. This type is still a problem child but one that, when it finally accommodates itself, is often a model pupil. These children belong in a day nursery but too much time and energy are expended before they conform to its routine.

Now what happens to this group of problem children? The fate of the first is obvious. Refused admission to the day nursery, these children are referred elsewhere either for daily care, permanent placing, or diagnosis and treatment. Likely as not the parents never think of following up this advice; they are not particularly interested in that aspect of the question. Besides, in many cases there are no appropriate places to recommend for these children which will suit the parents. For instance, take the mentally deficient child who is unable to progress in habit formation beyond the infant level. The family resents the idea of being actually separated from the child. Therefore, there is little use suggesting the proper institution. When the day-nursery worker feels duty bound to do so, the mother probably is insulted at what she considers interference in her private affairs. To her way of thinking there is something wrong with the day nursery that cannot take her child. So she goes on her way unheeding and the child disappears into the vacuum of society absolutely unrecorded.

The next category is even more difficult to handle. This child has already attended the day nursery. When it is excluded because it has been an upsetting influence, the parents are even less likely to understand. They have adjusted their lives to their satisfaction with the youngster taken care of by the day nursery. No wonder they rebel over this new situation which they do not know how to meet. These cases which are usually borderline mentally defective or behavioristic due to emotional factors in the home should be referred to a clinic for treatment and advice. But even if this is done there is no telling whether the angry mother will take the child to the clinic. It is a new contact which she dreads facing and therefore avoids. The nursery is powerless once the child is out of its control. It is also worth mentioning that to date there are not sufficient clinics in New York, and probably not elsewhere, to deal with the great numbers of these problem children. Besides, where can they get all-day care and return to their families at night?

The third type, as I have mentioned, does finally adapt itself to the day nursery. But the period of readjustment has been trying to the children, the teacher, and the other members of the class. These children are a general nuisance at first, and their fate in the day nursery is a definite problem. The puzzle as to whether or not they should be kept needs due consideration not only from the persons in charge of the particular child but the authorities whose attention is focused on the general welfare of the day nursery. While this is not futile effort, it is unnecessarily exacting. Furthermore, to some extent it *destroys the smooth running of the institution*. It is, however, at present unavoidable because this child does ultimately fit into the program of the day nursery.

The situation then is unsatisfactory for the problem child. Either it cannot become a regular member of the day-nursery group or it does so at the expense of the organization. This points to a definite need which to my mind would be filled by psychiatry. The psychiatrist who is a physician, primarily specializing in the mental field, has come to the foreground in the treatment of maladjusted children. But little has been done so far in the day-nursery world despite the glaring necessity. I do not claim that psychiatry is a panacea for all ills, nor that it can work miracles, particularly when personal family relations are aggravated by slum conditions. Nevertheless, the psychiatrist could be of real assistance in the particular sphere of which I am speaking.

In the first place, the children refused at the day nursery would be referred systematically not haphazardly. The parents interviewed by a psychiatrist who could advise them authoritatively might pay attention. The "big professor," as well-known doctors are so often called, commands more respect than just a layman. The psychiatrist or special consultant could win the mother, blindly devoted to her handicapped child, more easily. The child might then arrive at the proper institution. But even granted that this result was not forthcoming, the record of this subnormal child would be started. This

would be of inestimable value in the future, especially if subsequent track could be kept of the child.

Such records would be equally important in the second group, perhaps even more so. For example, if a youngster whose appearance is reasonably normal reacts in the day nursery like a mental defective, this should be known in the school. Some system should be devised whereby records of these children could be continuous from one institution to the other; that is, the report of the day nursery should be open to other organizations dealing with the same child. Furthermore, many in this second division are behavioristic cases. Proper psychiatric treatment might cure these children or at least help them sufficiently so that they could adjust themselves to the day nursery. But even if this adjustment could not be accomplished, at least the parents would have the benefit of expert advice. They would be told how to deal with their children, whether they need placement or more intelligent care in their homes. If a boarding school is recommended, a psychiatrist will know the correct place.

When we come to the third kind of problem child, the psychiatrist is helpful also. Instead of waiting months, perhaps years for the child to respond peacefully to the day-nursery environment, the psychiatrist might be able to speed up this process. Furthermore, with the uncovering of emotional factors which inevitably are linked with many misfit children, the day nursery will acquire a more complete picture. Besides, such children definitely should have treatment in order to avoid maladjustment in their adult life. This may involve far more than just mental assistance. The psychiatrist might start rolling the whole social-service and legal machinery that would remove the child from the complicating cause. This may mean only effecting a change in the parents' attitude or salvaging the family economically. On the other hand, despite their ultimate accommodation to the nursery, these children might be far better off elsewhere; that is, out of their own homes entirely. This the psychiatrist can capably decide.

Now, of course, this could not be done without a practical program. What then would this be? My idea would be to have a mental-hygiene program for all day nurseries. This program might be combined with other preschool mental work wherever possible. The more children of this age reached, the more good can be effected. But for the sake of clarity I will take a specific community where there are enough day nurseries to justify such an arrangement for them alone. The set-up then is for the convenience of the problem child who enters the day nursery, disregarding other unadjusted preschool children.

One suggestion is a central mental-hygiene bureau where there would be a regular clinic manned by one or more attending psychiatrists. The remainder of the staff and the program would have to be planned according to the actual need. The children, then, who could not be accepted in the day nursery or who required prolonged intensive treatment could be referred here for advice. Preferably there should also be a checkup system whereby the nursery and clinic exchange information such as verifying whether or not the child has really appeared when recommended. In this way there would be a definite diagnosis and some attempt to follow up the cases methodically. Of course this is open to the same objection as sending the families to a regular hospital clinic. They may not wish to be bothered. This might be met by persuasion or if necessary by enlisting the aid of a social-service worker for the actual accompanying of the child to the clinic.

There is, however, another solution: to use this main office not for actual work but for filing records; that is, a report of every individual problem child who applies or attends a day nursery. Then instead of having a regular clinical set-up in this general office, there could be one or more psychiatrists on call for every day nursery. This would have the advantage of keeping the problem youngsters in the familiar environment of the day nursery. Besides, the mothers would not need to traipse their children from one end of the city to

the other. For we must remember that adequate mental treatment takes many visits not one or two. It is a slow process showing almost imperceptible changes which the layman finds it difficult to understand. In this case the procedure would be as follows.

When a child applies who looks suspiciously unfit for the day nursery, a decision could be delayed. Then an appointment could be made with the psychiatrist for a later date. The mother would simply have to return to the day nursery. The problem thenceforth would be in the hands of the psychiatrist who could advise her for the good of her child. This would immediately sort those unsuitable for nursery care without the waste process of receiving and having to exclude the child. On the other hand, when the psychiatrist deems treatment might fit the child for the day nursery, this treatment could be instigated at once. Except that the time elapsing before the cure is longer, there is a close resemblance in this to waiting for a child to recover from a physical illness. The adjustment of the family meanwhile opens a relief angle which would, of course, have to be met. This is not, however, the direct province of the day nursery; therefore, I only mention it.

There are other ways also in which the knowledge of the psychiatrist would be of untold value. For instance, he or she could advise on specific internal nursery problems both in the general program and with individual children. The psychiatric point of view is exceedingly important in disciplinary measures, habit forming, and other aspects of the bringing-up of children. It stresses the benefit to the child at present, taking into account the reaction of the future adult. This is, of course, included in education in the broadest sense, starting when the child is in the cradle.

Then, too, the psychiatrist can assist in unraveling many family problems. These are by no means always economic although that factor cannot be denied. A nursery dealing primarily with children of working mothers has contact with many from undesirable backgrounds. When this is not too involved with the low financial status

and poor living conditions, a remedy may be found. Even when it is, an understanding psychiatrist can ease the burden. Talking it out helps these people as well as any others, particularly when it is done with a professional, trained to comprehend human emotional tangles, for the very young child cannot be dealt with entirely alone by the psychiatrist. The mother and sometimes the father are involved in the contact. The child is reached through them. Their whole attitude may have to be changed to bring about a real readjustment.

Before closing this article I want to summarize briefly the advantages which would accrue from the linking up of a mental-hygiene program with that of the day nurseries. If we acknowledge the benefit of psychiatry, the preschool child is obviously the one to start with. To say that conditions from which the day-nursery child comes will nullify the efforts is illogical because psychiatry is used with delinquents and criminals, many of whom come from just such an environment. Therefore, starting with the day-nursery child must be considered.

The day-nursery organization would profit by expert advice when referring children elsewhere because of mental deficiency or instability. Other children who at present are not amenable to regular day-nursery measures might be so after treatment. This might be done while they attended the day nursery or the children might have to be excluded temporarily. Such matters would, of course, have to be settled between the psychiatrist and the day-nursery administration.

From the child's point of view it would gain through early diagnosis and treatment. Furthermore, with the weight of the psychiatrist's word, many children who are neglected and abused might be removed from their families. There are conditions which are brought to the attention of day nurseries which are so indescribably bad for the children that it is a wonder that any are normal. Sometimes I marvel that the cruelty which they endure combined

with the crowded and filthy slum conditions does not make them all problem children. The happy atmosphere in a day nursery which I know on Manhattan's lower East Side is astounding when the dreadful background of many of the children is considered. Sometimes these situations can be relieved by the intervention of the psychiatrist. Certainly the incurable ones could be recognized and dealt with better because of superior psychiatric knowledge. At present the law makes it difficult to remove children from incapable families but each bit of pressure would help loosen those shackles. Who is better equipped to advise on such questions than the psychiatrist?

Psychiatry claims that it wants to take the child at the outbreak of its maladjustment. Many such youngsters come into the day-nursery field. If unsocial behavior can be corrected in the beginning there is every opportunity in a day nursery. If the misfit child is the incipient criminal or psychotic and this development can be prevented by early recognition and treatment, then the day nursery is the place for the psychiatrist. Besides, as I once heard a psychiatrist say: "All children are problem children." They all have their emotional upsets and reactions. This in a sense broadens the problem. But it does not really, for with the psychiatrist comes the psychiatric point of view which is tremendously important with all children. Whether then we limit this term "problem children" as I have done or include all children, true psychiatry which is bent on studying and assisting the mental ills of mankind will find ample material in the day nursery.

GUIDANCE POSSIBILITIES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

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Massachusetts Division of Child Guardianship

The vocational-education counselor is concerned with the proper selection of a vocation by young people and the proper education for such vocation. His field is a broad one, and one in which he should be able to proceed with great freedom. His activities are by no means limited to the selection of a vocation or to purely vocational education such as is offered by trade or business schools. It is no derogation of present-day schools to say that much of the material available, if wisely selected, is prevocational material. That is, once a vocation is determined, many of the ordinary secondary-school courses may be made extremely useful preparatory material for the later specifically vocational training. This is not to say that such courses need to be approached in a special way, or that they may not be interesting and culturally valuable in themselves. It is only to say that the future lawyer, the future physician, the future clergyman, or the future carpenter may select from the generous offerings of the secondary or college general courses material which will be helpful for his future vocation. The increasing generosity of such offerings, and the relaxation of rules making compulsory the attendance on certain courses, have made the task of the vocational-education counselor increasingly important and valuable. His position is by no means a formal one, nor is his advice limited to pointing out to the student a list of prescribed courses he must take if he wishes to "prepare" for a certain type of work or for a specific degree. On the contrary, the growing freedom in the choice of electives permits the counselor to adapt the resources of the curriculum to the individual student's abilities and aims. It seems safe to say that if vocational-education guidance fails, the fault is usually not with the offerings of the school curricula. Nor, in the majority of cases, is

the fault with the counselor, if he is well trained and vitally alive to his work.

Yet we know perfectly well that much guidance fails of its best results. The writer believes that the source of this failure lies in the hampering circumstances under which the guidance specialist must work. For, in order to do his job with a *maximum of efficiency*—judging efficiency by results obtained—the counselor must not only have a thorough knowledge of his school, or schools, and their offerings, but he must have a thorough knowledge of the individual he is guiding, and he must have the coöperation of the individual and his parents as well. Now a thorough knowledge of the individual is not an easy thing to get. In the writer's opinion, such knowledge must include not only the intellectual qualifications of the subject, his specific abilities, and his vocational inclinations, but it must also include an understanding of the background of the individual, his family environment, and the forces which have shaped his personality. All this means, in the first place, intimate individual contact with the boy or girl at hand—a contact which shall be so close that a real understanding becomes possible. It means, also, contact with the family and an understanding of the family. If the family is uninterested or unsympathetic at this point, the whole process of guidance is seriously hampered.

But further help from the family is necessary. Its coöperation must extend not only to giving permission for the series of tests, mechanical and otherwise, which help toward an accurate estimate of the abilities of the individual child, but also to understanding the results of those tests for their child, considering with him and the counselor the vocational-education procedures indicated by the tests, and encouragement of the child on his way. If, in the extremely intimate contacts of family life, there is lack of interest in the counselor's projects, or *ridicule of the child in his efforts at learning*, or disapproval of the vocational choice, it is obvious that happy results cannot be expected. The writer has known of more

than one instance in which an older person, who has been unsuccessful in a particular vocation because of his own unfitness for that vocation or because of his own unfortunate personal habits, has taken his lack of success as indicative of the uselessness of the vocation, and successfully discouraged a youngster from entering it. Guidance in such cases came to naught. On the other hand, older persons who have succeeded in a vocation that has become outmoded because of social changes influence younger persons to enter such vocations to their harm. An instance of this, in the special circumstances under which the writer has worked, may be found in the encouragement of mediocre boys to undertake stenographic training. The boys were not able to compete with girls similarly trained, more efficient at their work, more decorative in an office, and able to work for lower wages. As a result, boys whose training had been expensive and laborious were compelled to drift into whatever occupation came to hand. Now if older persons giving such misdirected encouragement or discouragement are members of the child's own family, the work of the counselor means nothing at all, for practical purposes.

One of the points about which interest should center in the whole guidance movement is the development of satisfactory relations between the counselor and the families of those he is guiding. Coöperation between counselor and family, treatment of the counselor as a specialist of rank by the family, and due consideration of the family and its possibilities in guidance by the counselor will go far toward removing many of the difficulties mentioned above. This statement is made on the basis of considerable experience in the guidance of boys who were being cared for by a child-placing agency. The boys were all living in foster families under the supervision of the writer, who, for all practical purposes, replaced the boys' own families in looking after their welfare. Close coöperation with the school authorities, plus an intimate and interested contact with the boys, plus some knowledge of the principles of guidance,

produced some very desirable results. There is no doubt that equally good results could be produced in the case of boys living in their own families if the right relationships were maintained between counselors and families.

The work of the child-placement agencies along these lines is well worth some study by those who are interested in vocational-education counseling. It will show what can be done under idealized conditions. There is, however, another and equally as important a phase of child-placement work in its relationship to counseling which may well be studied. Throughout the country, child-placement agencies have taken over the functions performed in the past by the obsolescent "orphan's homes" and other institutions for children. The theory on which the activities of such agencies are postulated is that every normal child deserves a normal family life. If his own family is unable to provide him with such a normal family life, it is given to him in a foster family. This is not "adoption" of the children by the foster families, but the placement with them by the agency, the child remaining under the supervision and control of the agency. Adjustment of the child to the family, with the possibility of removal to another family if it seems desirable, is one of the goals of placement.

Now since the child is living in an ordinary family in an ordinary community, he shares in all the benefits of community life, including the benefit of education in the ordinary public or parochial schools. It is at this point that the work of the placement agency and the guidance expert touch. The placement agent may also be trained in guidance; or he may work with a guidance expert in the community in which the child is living. In either case, the child receives the benefit of vocational-education guidance.

Inevitably many of the children are placed in rural communities because of the superior advantages from the point of view of healthful living, fresh foods, exercise, and the learning how to do things of the most varied sorts which comes from farm life. But often these

rural communities have not the school facilities for secondary education that might be desired. This is especially true in the case of trade schools. It is here that the mobility of the placed child reacts to his advantage. If, after study, it is decided that he needs a special type of educational opportunity, he can be moved from the rural community to another (still under the supervision of the placement agency) where such opportunity can be provided. Many of the placement agencies are departments of State governments and can therefore place children in any community in the State. Many private social agencies which place children are "regional" in character and include several States, or parts of several States, in their territories. Obviously, then, there is no type of vocational or educational opportunity denied to the foster child.

Study of the work of the placement agencies in adapting place of residence to educational facilities, and the success or failure of such work, should be valuable to guidance experts and placement workers alike. It would demonstrate from the theoretical point of view what ought to be done; what could be done; and what actually is done from the practical viewpoint. Such a study has been made by Mrs. Helen E. Jones under the direction of Dr. Fred C. Smith at the Harvard School of Education. It includes an analysis of the human material the placement agency is dealing with; an analysis of the education and vocational opportunities available in the territory covered by the study; and an analysis of the processes of guidance and adjustment, with notes as to the results accomplished. It is suggested that similar analyses of other groups would be valuable. For not only is the special opportunity for guidance inherent in the work of the child agencies often overlooked by them, but the possibilities of a laboratory demonstration of certain principles of guidance would be valuable to the vocational-education counselor.

RESEARCH PROJECTS BEING CARRIED ON BY THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

E. D. PARTRIDGE

National Director of Research, Boy Scouts of America

As sociologists have pointed out in surveying the evolution of human institutions, there is a tendency as these institutions develop to slip into certain accepted methods of accomplishing the ends desired. The next step then is for these methods to take on the function of ends in themselves rather than keeping in the humble state of means to an end. Thus the original objective of the institution may become obscure in the tangle of methods which have solidified.

As these ideas become more and more solidified into the particular pattern of thought that the institution may have it becomes difficult for scientific research to do its part in helping the institution or movement better to attain its original ends. Further to complicate the problem there is a process of rationalization that may go on in the minds of those responsible for the promotion of the institution. Arguments that are used to convince others become established facts in the minds of those who use them and may thus bolster up faith in their own undertaking.

One hope of avoiding this unfortunate evolution is to keep the system of methods and ideas from completely solidifying by constantly stirring into the mass a portion of factual material. This factual material usually takes on the property of an acid—it prevents solidification and sometimes evokes unpleasant feelings. It may attack the very patterns which have been established for years. To make up for this tearing-down process, research often results in more solidly establishing certain methods by proving their worth. In the long run an intelligent program of research will increase the value of an institution and perpetuate it in a changing social scheme.

In an attempt to keep abreast of a rapidly changing society and to improve constantly the effectiveness of the program in the lives of

boys, the Boy Scouts of America carries on an extensive program of research. It is the purpose of this article to outline some of these projects and indicate roughly their results to date. Some of these projects are of such a nature as to be of value to other social agencies. It is this type that we shall be particularly concerned with at this time.

STUDIES OF THE ADOLESCENT GROUP

One subject of primary interest to the Boy Scout program is the nature and functioning of the adolescent group. The fundamental unit of operation of the program is the "patrol" which consists of from four to eight boys, carrying on under their own leadership. The theory is that this group shall be a so-called "natural gang", that is, a group of boys whose acquaintance carries on beyond the patrol into other adolescent activities, in the neighborhood, at school, and on the street. The practical problem that immediately arises here has to do with the best techniques for discovering and using these natural boy relationships. How should patrols be formed? What kind of boys get along best together?

Many other investigators have launched an attack on this problem with valuable results. With their findings as guideposts there has been an attempt to push this frontier of knowledge even farther back. Measurements have been made of spontaneous friendships. Boys in summer camp have been asked to choose their own group during the summer, from the records of these groups it was then possible to determine from such characteristics as age, intelligence, and physical prowess the kinds of boys who associated together. Other studies have been made of adolescent friendships in Scout troops. The general conclusions of these investigations have substantiated the old adage that "birds of a feather flock together." There is a tendency for boys to shift to their own intelligence, age, social and economic level with the latter two having the least important influence of all.¹

¹ See footnote on p. 222

This important field needs further investigation. Experimental evidence is needed to establish the relative importance of using the "natural groups" as against the formation of "artificial" ones. Is there any reason to suppose, for example, that bringing boys together with like social backgrounds, mental ability, and age would be any less effective than to find such groups already formed, providing the factor of living in the same relative neighborhood could somehow be dealt with?

ADOLESCENT LEADERS

One of the most fruitful investigations carried on so far is the study now going forward in the field of boy leaders. From a practical point of view it is quite important for those dealing with groups of boys to know just what kind of boys usually come into positions of leadership. While there has been considerable research in this field by various investigators, it has not received nearly the attention that it deserves in terms of its importance to educational and social agencies.

It will be recognized that this subject is closely allied to the previous one. From the definition of leadership which has been evolved during these studies it is quite impossible to think of a leader apart from his social group. A boy is a leader to the extent to which he causes others to act and think the way he would like them to act and think. Under this definition practically every one is a leader to some extent. The outstanding leaders are those who influence a relatively large number of their associates over a relatively long period of time. In terms of the adolescent group at least, this is not possible unless the leader is a member of the group.

¹ Those who are interested in the details of these studies will find them in the following publications.

E. DeAlton Partridge, "Leadership Among Adolescent Boys," *Contribution to Education* No. 608, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

E. DeAlton Partridge, "A Study of Friendships Among Adolescent Boys," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 40: 472-477, 1933.

The results of the studies indicate that leadership is a matter of degree—not of kind. As the group progresses it does so in response first to one boy and then to another. It is the boy who influences the group the largest number of times and in the most important decisions that we must accept as a leader. This, of course, means that the boy who may lead the group into mischief is nonetheless a leader—it is not *how* he influences them, but the fact that he *does* that distinguishes him as a leader. This is a distinction that many adults fail to take into account thereby losing the possible assistance of some boys who lead the group in the wrong direction although they might be induced to lead in the right direction in coöperation with adults.

Methods have been developed for identifying leaders. Outstanding leaders have been compared with their own groups in such characteristics as age, intelligence, height, weight, skill in scouting, and physical prowess. The results indicate that leaders are older, more intelligent, stronger, heavier, and taller. Height and weight, however, are associated with leadership only because they are associated with age and intelligence. When these two latter factors are held constant, height and weight have no influence by themselves.

Leaders have been transplanted into strange groups to determine if they would be recognized by boys who have never seen them before. They were recognized. They could be selected with remarkable regularity from a group of boys selected all along the scale of leadership. There is something about the way they appear and act even in a short space of time which gives strange boys a basis upon which to select them. Even on the basis of voice alone the leaders were selected more often than nonleaders.

These investigations are being carried even further. The histories of boys in a troop are being plotted over several years to show the development of popularity and its association with other factors. Experiments are being made to determine if it is possible to predict which boys will come into positions of leadership based on such fac-

tors as intelligence, physical prowess, etc. Similar studies should be carried on with school children. Teachers should be impressed with the importance of knowing which are the real leaders in the classroom group; which individuals are influencing the behavior and attitudes of the children outside of the classroom. This is a factor of prime importance to the discipline and learning of the class.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Much has been claimed in the past for the Boy Scout program as a preventive of juvenile delinquency. It is only within the last decade that factual studies have been forthcoming to assay its value in this area. Thrasher, in his study of boy gangs, pointed out several instances where the organization of a Scout troop transformed an adolescent group into a constructive force. That this has happened in many instances there is little doubt. As to the final effect of this upon the later behavior of these boys comparatively little is now known. Fairchild made an extensive study of Scouts and non-Scouts and delinquency records. This study established the fact that Scouts were less apt to find themselves on the court records, but he was unable to determine whether this was due to Scout training or to the tendency for the Scout program to select higher type boys.

Studies have been carried on in several communities which lend some light on this subject. In Buffalo, New York, and St. Joseph, Missouri, an attempt was made to determine the effect of Scouting upon juvenile-delinquency rates. A survey of juvenile court cases was made in areas where there were no Scout troops. Troops were then organized, and over a period of years the rate decreased. Similar facts from areas where Scouting was not organized indicated that juvenile delinquency actually increased over the same period. These studies need further substantiation as any one familiar with the causes of delinquency will recognize. There are so many factors involved that it is sheer folly to attribute such changes to any one cause without very extensive analysis of all phases of the problem.

These studies are, however, suggestive of what can be done in this field.

Carefully controlled studies would be most helpful in this area. It should be possible with the use of carefully selected groups to follow their behavior over a period of years and determine the effectiveness of such programs as Scouting upon later social adjustment.

BOY INTERESTS

There is a constant pressure on such programs as the Boy Scouts to add new frills, new devices, new program materials. The problem of selecting from the vast flood of suggestions which pours in is no simple one. There are two fundamental considerations to keep in mind. First, the aims and purposes of the movement must be kept clearly to the front. Suggestions, no matter how valuable they might be to the schools or the churches, may not have a logical place in the Scout program. Scouting is supplementary to other agencies and must not assume to take over any responsibilities not naturally falling within its field. The second important consideration has to do with the nature of boy interests. As a movement the greatest asset available is popularity with boys. This popularity must be maintained in light of changing social conditions.

A survey of the literature on boy interests revealed comparatively little evidence as to the changing interests of boys by ages. There are many studies available but too often they include a small age range, a small subject range, or far too few cases to be of any practical value. In light of this lack of information the National Council has launched an extensive study of boy interests, covering many phases of modern life which confront the boy today. It is hoped with the aid of these facts to be in a position to know when certain interests lag and others begin. Further, it is important to know the relative distribution of interests in urban and rural communities and according to geographical location in the United States.

An interest questionnaire, similar to the Strong Interest Blank, has

been developed for adolescent boys and is now being used in various parts of the country. This is a field of considerable importance to all agencies dealing with boys.

COÖPERATION WITH UNIVERSITIES

Space will not permit a further listing of current problems now in the process of investigation. It seems desirable, however, to mention the coöperation possible between the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America and universities interested in carrying forth some of these research projects. Because of the facilities available both from the standpoint of subjects for investigation and resources for clerical and tabulation purposes, universities are often glad to have their graduate students cooperate.

Scouting reaches into many sections of American life, geographically and socially. Because of its widespread application it is a valuable laboratory for certain kinds of studies. The National Council has a complete installation of the Hollerith punch-card system available for compiling the results of studies of particular value to the movement. For example, the Social Studies Bureau of the College of the City of New York has been coöperating recently in making a study of boy interests in and around New York City. The students gather the data which are tabulated on the machines in the national office and turned over to them for interpretation. Students working on these projects report their findings in term papers.

In many cases graduate students are writing theses for advanced degrees using data thus collected. This kind of cooperation is invited providing the field of investigation is of sufficient value to the Scout movement to warrant the expense involved.

THE VISITING TEACHER, A UNIFYING AGENCY IN EDUCATION

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The importance of cooperation between home and school has been recognized in theory by educators, but in many schools there is no adequate organization or agency for accomplishing this objective.

It is the opinion of the writer that the visiting teacher can be one of the most potent agencies for securing this cooperation. Her work takes her out of the school building into the homes of the children and thereby makes possible more complete information about the environment and activities of the children throughout the twenty-four hours of the day. In 1931 the yearbook of the Department of Superintendence presented many various techniques and agencies for producing a unified program in education, but in general the considerations were limited to the activities of a six-hour school day. In this yearbook 555 teachers and administrative school officials listed factors that affect pupil achievement in school. The visiting teacher was mentioned only twenty times, indicating that her influence as a factor conditioning pupil achievement had not received full recognition at that time. This article will give a perspective and setting for the work of the visiting teacher as it functioned in one school.

The data for this article were taken from a school with an average enrollment of 510 pupils in the grades from kindergarten through the sixth grade. During a period of seven years this visiting teacher made an average of 867 visits a year to the homes of the children. The following table is a record of her work for one year.

In addition to these visits to the homes of parents, the visiting teacher gave some time to substitute teaching and to coaching pupils

REPORT OF THE VISITING TEACHER

<i>Purpose of Visits to Home</i>	<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Oct.</i>	<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Dec.</i>	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>Feb.</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Apr.</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>Total</i>
Absence	85	85	64	74	75	64	53	65	30	595	
Discipline	20	2	2	3	9	6	5	4	4	55	
Unsanitary condition of clothes-body	2	2	—	2	1	2	2	—	—	11	
Scholarship	4	2	—	27	13	4	1	—	1	52	
Tardiness	1	17	5	2	5	2	2	6	—	40	
Investigating notes to be excused	11	18	5	2	—	—	—	9	—	45	
Emergency	13	5	1	1	4	14	3	7	3	51	
Quarantine	—	5	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	9	
Vaccination	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	
Dental work	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	4	
Throat troubles	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	
Glasses	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	2	6	
Transfer of pupils	—	3	—	—	1	2	4	5	—	15	
Head condition of pupils	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	2	—	7	
Total number of cases	138	143	80	115	112	96	72	98	40	894	

having difficulty The large number of visits reported for absence might seem to indicate that the visiting teacher served in the capacity of an attendance officer. Her visits for pupil absence, however, were made only when there seemed to be a problem situation in relation to the absence. Much of the best work of the visiting teacher in interpreting the school to the parents was done on these visits, although the recording of the visits is similar to the recording of an attendance officer. The visiting teacher made these visits opportunities for determining conditions in the home; discussed with the parents the placement of pupils, information on report cards, and

homework. She determined the number of people in each home, the number working, and the approximate income for each family.

In many school situations there is a feeling that work of this kind is not within the scope of responsibilities for the school. In other schools there is the conviction that the classroom teacher should do work of this nature when it seems essential. It is not the desire of the writer to prove that knowledge of family incomes is essential or to excuse the classroom teacher from the responsibility of knowing something about the homes of the children who are in her class. On the contrary, there is a feeling that the classroom teacher should know the parents and have some information about home conditions of the children. The desirability of this as an objective is acknowledged, but practically it does not function extensively, and frequently a teacher remains with a class for an entire year without even knowing the parents of any children in the class. The chart opposite indicates that the visiting teacher made 894 contacts with the homes of the children in one year. After two or three years' work in this community the visiting teacher was known much better than the principal or any other teacher. The visits to the homes helped to interpret the school to the parents and secured much information for the teacher that helped to explain difficulties in the classroom.

The visiting teacher also obtained considerable information about the children's diets at home. Many small children who seemed indifferent and lazy were being sent off to school after drinking large quantities of wine. In many cases the teachers did not know this fact and classroom discussions about diet accomplished little as long as the parents' knowledge of the school was limited to information given by children and the report card. The visiting teacher secured the desired cooperation with the homes. Parents stopped giving wine to the children and became less antagonistic to the school. At the same time problems in discipline decreased. The visiting teacher also learned by these visits to the homes that in many cases the children had no opportunities or conveniences for reading or study at

home. Many small children were out on the street late at night without their evening meals until they had finished selling their newspapers. This information changed the attitudes of teachers toward the scholarship of pupils. The prompt investigation of notes asking for pupils to be excused led to an immediate decrease in the number of requests to be excused and also a decrease in the excuses forged by the children.

In cases where the social life in the home of the child was badly disorganized and unadjusted many and frequent visits had to be made not only to the child's home, but occasionally to the places of employment of the parents. In all cases where children or parents were taken to courts the visiting teacher was always present and assisted in handling the case. Her presence in court prevented the hurried handing out of advice and punishment, for her careful case studies assisted the judge in getting a more complete background for the offense. The number of cases taken to court gradually decreased after the first two years' work by the visiting teacher in this community.

The most significant aspect of the work of the visiting teacher is not shown statistically in the chart. In addition to the general improvement in school morale, there was a marked improvement in pupil promotion. The per cent of pupils making normal progress in the grades increased from 34 to 62 per cent throughout a period of seven years. The visiting teacher in this school had put into practice the thing about which we hear so much and frequently do so little. She interpreted the school to the parents and there naturally followed a greatly improved relationship between the homes and the school.

COMPARISON OF THE PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS OF YOUNG ADOLESCENTS LIVING IN CITY AND COUNTRY¹

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A survey of the relative seriousness of the problems and strength of the interests of young adolescents in fifteen areas of human concern has yielded data by which a comparison of adolescents in city and country can be made. These data were secured from 829 pupils in the Grover Cleveland High School in Ridgewood, New York City, 812 pupils in the junior and senior high schools of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and 422 pupils in the Kane, Pennsylvania, High School. Pupils in each of these schools were given a sheet containing a list of fifteen areas in which problems may arise (a brief notation of these areas is given in the table accompanying this paper) and were asked to rank these in order of being personal problems and of being of interest by placing the number of the items in boxes on a ranking sheet. The average rank was computed for each item for boys and girls separately in each school and a simple average of the boys' and girls' ranks was computed to serve as a measure of the extent to which each item was a problem and also an interest.

A brief description of the social composition of each of the schools is in order. Grover Cleveland High School, which is located in Ridgewood, Borough of Queens, New York, serves a group of adjacent communities known as Glendale, Evergreen, Maspeth, Middle Village, East Williamsburgh, Forest Hills, Kew Gardens, and Ridgewood proper. These communities have grown to a thickly populated section of the City, consisting largely of adjoining two-

¹ Acknowledgment is made to Dr. Charles A. Tonser, principal of the Grover Cleveland High School, New York City, Dr. J. Thomas Wade, principal of the Cleveland Junior High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Mr. George H. Armacost, principal of the Kane High School, Kane, Pennsylvania, for their generous assistance in securing these data.

story four-family brick houses with an occasional apartment house. The population is approximately fifty per cent native born with ancestry mostly German and Irish. Those not born in the United States have come from a variety of European countries, Italy, Germany, Russia, Poland, and Austria leading in the order named. Most of the heads of families are small tradesmen or office workers, with many owners of small shops, and some workers, unskilled and semiskilled, in the larger industries. However, there are also a few heads of families who occupy positions of responsibility, indicating that the neighborhood covered by the school is fairly representative of a cosmopolitan community.

Tulsa, Oklahoma, is situated in the center of the oil industry in Oklahoma and in 1930 had a population of 141,000. Tulsa is in the heart of a district which contains, besides oil, natural gas, coal, lead, and zinc in large quantities, and the area about Tulsa is a heavy producer of cotton. Tulsa, itself, contains a number of manufacturing industries. The population is almost wholly of native stock, and shifts rapidly. The pupils of the Tulsa schools may be thought of as representing the problems and interests of boys and girls living in a moderate sized southwestern city.

Kane, Pennsylvania, with a population of 6,932 in 1930, is situated on the edge of the McKean County oil territory, in the center of the Allegany National Forest, and in a region of immense timber tracts. The principal industries of Kane are manufacture of toys, brush blocks, and handles of all descriptions, manufacture of shirts, and the manufacture of venetian blinds and screens. The region surrounding Kane affords excellent trout fishing and hunting for deer, bear, and smaller game. Approximately twenty per cent of the pupils of Kane High School come from the rural districts surrounding the borough limits. More than fifty per cent of the population is of Scandinavian origin, with a scattering of Italian, Welsh, English, German, and other mixed American stock. Kane is somewhat isolated since the nearest town of equal size is approximately twenty-

five miles away. The pupils of the Kane High School may be thought of as representing the problems and interests of youth living in and about a small town.

The outstanding fact to be derived from the results of the survey is the high degree of similarity of the problems and interests of these three groups of pupils. The rank order correlations of the average rankings are as follows:

	<i>Problem</i>	<i>Interest</i>
Grover Cleveland-Tulsa	.754	.956
Grover Cleveland-Kane	.857	.857
Tulsa-Kane	.818	.866

From these figures it is not possible to say that the pupils in Tulsa are more like the New York City pupils than the Kane pupils in their problems and interests.

It may be truthfully said that young people today face the same problems and have the same interests whether they live East or West or in large cities or in the country. The problems and interests of youth are so closely similar in different parts of the country and in congested and rural areas as to give warrant to a fairly uniform curriculum in secondary education; one which is, however, better adapted to the needs and interests of youth than the one which secondary schools have inherited from the past.

With the understanding that likenesses are greater than differences, the following differences may be commented on. Pupils in a large city feel the problems of health more keenly than small city or rural pupils. The greater concern with and interest in health may in part be due to the greater emphasis on health in the Grover Cleveland High School. Recreation is least of a problem in Tulsa, notwithstanding the fact that Kane is recognized as a hunting and fishing center. Evidently the need for recreation is more easily satisfied in a small city than in a large city or in a rural area. The problem of budgeting one's time is less of a problem with the city than with the country boys and girls—the demands of time seem less pressing in

the small city than in the large city or in the country. Contrary to expectations money is less of a problem in the city than in the country. The extent to which money is a problem is apparently a direct function of poverty and is less influenced by differences in wealth in a community. The pupils in New York feel civic affairs to be less of a personal problem to them than pupils in the smaller places.

There is evidence that the interest in sex is greater in the city than in the country. This may be attributed in part to the greater stimulation which comes in the city from dress and advertising and close living together. The city boys and girls are more interested in philosophy of life, the complete statement of which read:

Philosophy of life—personal values, ambitions, ideals, religion. Evidently matters of ambition, choosing a career, ideals, and perhaps the deeper curiosity stirred by science and religion find slightly greater stimulus in the city than in the country. The pupils of Kane showed less interest in personal attractiveness and in getting along with others than those in the cities, but more interest in money.

SUMMARY

A survey of the relative ranking of fifteen areas of human concern by high-school boys and girls shows that youth have about the same problems and interests whether they live in the city or country or in the East or West.

City pupils have more problems relating to health and less relating to money and the planning of one's time. Pupils in New York find recreation more of a problem and civic affairs less of a problem than pupils in the smaller places.

City pupils are more interested in sex, matters pertaining to ambitions and ideals, personal attractiveness, and getting along with others, and are less interested in money than pupils in rural areas.

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AVERAGE RANKING FOR FIFTEEN ITEMS FOR PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS BY 829
PUPILS IN THE GROVER CLEVELAND HIGH SCHOOL OF NEW YORK CITY,
812 PUPILS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF TULSA, OKLAHOMA, AND 422
PUPILS IN THE KANE, PENNSYLVANIA, HIGH SCHOOL

	<i>Average Ranking for Problems</i>			<i>Average Ranking for Interests</i>		
	<i>New York City</i>	<i>Tulsa</i>	<i>Kane</i>	<i>New York City</i>	<i>Tulsa</i>	<i>Kane</i>
1. Health	5.87	7.34	7.15	5.75	6.41	5.66
2. Sex	10.90	10.96	11.35	9.36	9.28	10.55
3. Safety	8.36	8.74	8.63	8.37	8.58	8.06
4. Money	6.36	6.72	5.45	7.63	7.55	6.75
5. Mental health	8.38	8.56	9.18	9.50	9.88	9.83
6. Study	7.37	6.82	6.86	9.26	8.73	8.75
7. Recreation	7.74	8.94	8.31	4.94	5.55	5.24
8. Personal qualities	7.65	6.77	7.40	7.88	7.42	7.42
9. Family relationships	8.08	8.27	8.35	8.45	8.25	8.52
10. Manners	7.88	6.98	7.27	7.12	6.68	6.67
11. Personal attractiveness	7.28	6.79	7.01	6.86	6.68	7.50
12. Daily schedule	8.91	9.55	8.11	10.23	10.62	10.32
13. Civic interests	9.16	8.26	8.45	9.46	9.27	9.91
14. Getting along with others	8.32	8.05	8.49	7.80	7.37	8.36
15. Philosophy	7.75	7.23	8.03	7.31	7.71	9.10

DIFFERENCES* BETWEEN AVERAGE RANKINGS OF FIFTEEN ITEMS FOR PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS FOR 829 PUPILS IN THE GROVER CLEVELAND HIGH SCHOOL OF NEW YORK CITY, 812 PUPILS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF TULSA, OKLAHOMA, AND 422 PUPILS IN THE KANE, PENNSYLVANIA, HIGH SCHOOL

	Problems				Interests			
	G C—		Tulsa—		G C—		Tulsa—	
	Tulsa	Kane	Tulsa	Kane	Tulsa	Kane	Tulsa	Kane
	Diff	σ Diff	Diff	σ Diff	Diff	σ Diff	Diff	σ Diff
1. Health	+1.47	+6.1	+1.28	+4.3	—19	—7	+66	+3.4
2 Sex	+ .06	+2	+45	+16	+39	+1.4	— .08	—3
3 Safety	+ .38	+19	+27	+11	—11	—4	+21	+1.1
4 Money	+ .36	+18	—91	—39	—127	—5.4	— .08	—4
5 Mental health	+ .18	+8	+80	+3.2	+62	+2.4	+38	+2.0
6 Study	—55	—2.8	—51	—21	+ .04	+2	—53	—2.8
7 Recreation	+1.20	+6.0	+57	+2.4	—63	—2.6	+61	+3.0
8 Personal qualities	—88	—51	—25	—12	+53	+3.0	—46	—2.4
9 Family relationships	+19	+9	+27	+1.1	+08	+3	—20	—1.0
10. Manners	—90	—50	—61	—29	+29	+1.4	—44	—2.5
11 Personal attractiveness	—49	—27	—27	—13	+21	+1.0	—18	—1.0
12 Daily schedule	+64	+36	—80	—3.3	—1.44	—68	+39	+2.3
13. Civic interests	—90	—50	—71	—3.0	+19	+8	—19	—1.0
14. Getting along with others	—27	—1.4	+17	+7	+44	+1.8	—43	—2.2
15. Philosophy of life	—52	—2.6	+28	+1.1	+80	+3.1	+40	+1.8

* A plus indicates a higher ranking for the New York City school wherever it is used in one of the comparisons, or the Tulsa schools when they are compared with Kane, Pennsylvania

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON

JOHN L. HOPKINS

Superintendent, Board of Education, Hastings-on-Hudson

Hastings-on-Hudson has organized a Community Service Council to deal with problems of human relations. The council is formulating and carrying out a comprehensive plan that touches important phases of social life in its residential and industrial sections. The need for the council emerged out of more than thirty years of growing social disorganization. The Hastings School Council for character education and delinquency prevention has also been organized as a close cooperating agency with the community council.

The significance of the movement toward community and school agencies for social organization may be better grasped by readers in other communities if inquiry is made into the nature of the forces leading to the councils.

About the turn of the century, there came to play upon the rural community of Hastings-on-Hudson in Westchester County, New York, an array of forces and processes, which, within a decade, changed it into a complex, industrial, residential suburb. Rapid transportation and other increasing forms of communication began to link Hastings with the developing metropolitan region. To the shore front came factories, followed by an influx of young Polish, Russian, and Hungarian laborers. To the sloping hillsides, formerly wealthy estates, came groups of city people. They desired not only to escape high rentals in crowded areas, but, more especially, to rear their children amid open spaces, within commuting distance of New York City. Thus, conflicting elements were loosed upon this peaceful, rural community.

By the opening of the World War, one of the factories which had

begun with seventy-five men was employing over three thousand. The young foreigners had either brought their wives, or had sent to the old countries for them. Being of peasant stock, these young couples began raising large families of children, just as they customarily would have done in their agricultural, European environment. Their American-born children were American citizens. It became the obligation of the community to provide schools, but, contrary to the European environment and mode of living, the schools were the only suitable place for these children. In Europe they would have left school, as their fathers and mothers did, about the fourth grade, and would have gone to work in the fields. In the congested, industrial section of Hastings, which the factories and these families had created, there did not even remain play spaces for the children.

Parents of foreign birth lost traditional forms of family control. Their mode of occupation separated them from their children. While fathers were in the factories, mothers worked in the homes of suburban residents. Children learned in the schools and on the streets American ways of thinking and acting. The streets competed with the schools by providing many undesirable forms of education. Children began to feel ashamed of their parents. Family discord grew as the children became older, and realized the great difference in habits and training between themselves and their parents.

When the United States census was taken in 1930, a startling contrast in community, basic elements was revealed in comparison with those which had been slowly developing for a century previous to the year 1900. From three thousand the population had grown to over seven thousand. There were more than thirty nationalities represented. Approximately forty-three per cent of the population resided in one congested, industrial section. Fifty-seven per cent dwelt in four large residential sections on the hillsides.

Most of the forty-three per cent are now living in multiple housing quarters, over stores, and in a few tenement-type buildings. Many of these quarters are below modern standards. The fifty-seven

per cent live mostly in single houses on lots which afford beautiful views of the Hudson and its noble Palisades. Among the residential groups are skilled tradesmen and commuters consisting of business executives, professional, semiprofessional, and clerical people.

One would be justified in supposing that commuters and their families would constitute a harmonious group with tendencies for community solidarity. But this has not proved to be the case. The hill sections upon which suburban dwellers located are geographically separated from each other by ravines and gullies. Interconnecting roads have been impractical. As incoming groups differed in their ambitions and ideals, sectionalism has become rife.

With changing conditions, the Protestant churches lost much of their social and religious control, which was exercised traditionally previous to 1900. One result of the loss of social control was the organization of a Woman's Club to deal with civic and social problems. This club was one of the early forces for community organization. Other numerous organizations, with all manner of objectives, sprang up among native and foreign groups. In 1933 there were over seventy adult organizations, exclusive of bridge clubs and branches of county organizations. This means that there was approximately one organization to every sixty-two adult residents. There were elements of disorganization in overorganization.

There was no unifying plan among these diverse organizations or among residential sections for community solidarity. Conditions led to conflicts without organizing elements being present to cope with them and bring about adjustments.

It was not until 1927 that summer playground work was attempted under the auspices of the Board of Education. It was not until the same year that Hastings, after a decade of having nearly four hundred children on part time, erected the first unit of a modern junior-senior high school with facilities for diversified curricula beyond those of the traditional, academic variety.

However, these attempts to safeguard children had not yet at-

tained sufficient force to check growing tendencies toward delinquency, and other forms of community disorganization. From 1929 to 1933 Hastings had thirty-two juveniles adjudged delinquent before the Westchester County Children's Court. This was a larger number of cases in proportion to population than were reported in seven other neighboring places for the same time.

During this five-year period Judge George W. Smyth, of the Westchester County Children's Court, stated before the Rotarians of Hastings that the community and the schools should institute a program of leisure-time, supervised recreation. He recommended a community boys' club, and a visiting teacher for the schools.

A recreation committee, under the volunteer leadership of a past president of the Woman's Club, had already begun a small program of year-round recreation. A second unit of the junior-senior high school had been built, with extensive facilities for shop courses and household arts. The fine-arts departments of music, dramatics, and art were much extended in scope. More extensive and practical commercial courses were developed. The keynote of instruction became that of the individual as opposed to the class. A guidance department to cope with educational, social, and personal problems of the individual student was established.

The superintendent of schools had begun a three-year study of social base facts in the community, and how this knowledge could be applied to making an improved secondary curriculum for more effective functioning of the schools in the community. A social base map of the community was constructed, and related studies made of population and nationalities, land values and housing, occupations, families, mobility, delinquency, health and welfare, government, education and religion, recreation, and culture. Another study was made by a Mayor's committee which undertook a six-week investigation of antisocial conditions in the congested section.

From such beginnings, a start was made toward community

organization¹ adapted to suburban needs. A group of socially minded men, experienced in welfare, religious, social, and educational work, believed that some coördinating agency was essential. They began to make inquiries of the recreation committee chairman, and of the school superintendent and principals. The group finally decided to present its ideas to the Mayor. It proved that the Mayor was as anxious as these citizens to have the community afford adequate protection to its children, and to bring about improved social organization among adults.

The Mayor and this group of men decided to form a Community Service Council similar to the Los Angeles Coordinating Council Plan and to the Social Planning Council in Madison, New Jersey. Instead of attempting to form the council from representatives of the many existing organizations, or from political appointees, the Mayor appointed as members the following citizens of Hastings: a national secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, two trained and experienced sociologists, a lawyer with social training and experience, the chairman of the recreation committee, a factory superintendent, a member of the Board of Education, and the school superintendent.

The council voted at its first meeting to have all studies of social conditions in Hastings available for its use, together with community programs operating in other places. This action has led to formulating a program based upon sociological principles of community organization and upon research data. The chairman of the Community Service Council appointed different members as heads of the following divisions: health, housing, welfare and relief, family and child guidance, parks and playgrounds, and adult education. Each division chairman appointed his own committee. The actual work of the council is conducted by these committees.

¹ Suggested authorities on community organization: Jesse F. Steiner, *Community Organization* (New York: The Century Company, 1930), and Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934).

The council meets every two weeks, receives reports from the division chairmen, and determines upon policies. The Mayor is an active member of the council and assists in determining policies. The council makes recommendations to the Village Board of Trustees for expenditures to be included in the village budget. Council members are prepared to defend recommendations at open budget hearings. A sum of nearly six thousand dollars was included in the budget for the fiscal year of 1936 to cover salaries of a full-time director of recreation, a girls' worker, one part-time assistant, improvements of playgrounds, and purchase of supplies.

The Board of Education has granted the council the use of the public-school buildings for extensive indoor recreation and adult-education programs. This grant includes all overhead costs. During the winter of 1935-1936, over five hundred children and over two hundred adults used the school buildings each week outside of school hours.

The beginnings of community organization and improved school services are already bearing fruits. For the year 1934 only three delinquency cases from Hastings were reported by the Westchester County Probation Department. One of these cases was referred by the police to the Children's Court, one by the school, and one by a social agency. During the first six months of 1935, there were no delinquency cases reported from Hastings, and only one case of neglect.

The two hundred or more adults who come from different parts of the community to the high school every week are developing a united interest in their community. They are taking courses in current problems, home nursing, everyday problems of law, designing, fashions, art, ceramics, shop, orchestra, and bridge. Volunteer teachers for the first year were recruited from the community and from the high-school faculty. A fee of one dollar for a semester of twelve lessons was charged. Two semesters for the coming year are planned. Fees are to be increased to three dollars a term to cover

costs of instructors. It is hoped in the near future to include sufficient funds in the school budget to pay instructors and to provide supplies. Adult education for foreign men and women is planned to be conducted in their neighborhood, since these older people prefer to keep to their own groups.

Community organization is being effected in Hastings after thirty years of growing social disorganization, due to change from a simple, rural pattern of culture to a complex, industrial-suburban pattern. The Woman's Club, the Planning Commission and Zoning Board, the Village and School Boards, and the Community Service Council are now uniting upon a broad program of dealing with human needs and values.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM OF THE TRANSIENT UNEMPLOYED

DAVID KAPLUN

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The literature on transiency falls into two periods: the predepression and the depression years. Of the former group, of which Nels Anderson's study of *The Hobo*¹ is representative, the majority of the studies have been mixtures of "journalese" and sober sociology, and the emphasis has been, in too many instances, on the former. Since 1930, the authors have become somewhat less romantic and more concerned in evaluating the quantitative and qualitative status of the transient, and, as Webb has pointed out, have tended to exaggerate the numerical importance of the group.

The material bearing upon the educational background of the transient has been reported by Schubert,² Outland,³ and Webb,⁴ who have presented statistics of academic level for various rural and urban groups. The analyses of these authors agree closely insofar as the average school grade is given as eight (elementary-school graduation) in all three studies. With this statement the investigators seem inclined to dismiss the problem. Schubert states, for example, that "the casual observer is usually startled by the goodly amount of schooling which the transient group has had"; similarly, Webb reports that "measured in terms of school years completed, the transient unemployed are a fairly well-educated group."

But such statements as these beg the essential question. The problem is not closed with a report of median educational level and its frequency curve. It is necessary to go two steps beyond this by study-

¹ Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1923)

² H. J. Schubert, *Twenty Thousand Transients* (Buffalo, N. Y.: Emergency Relief Bureau, 1935)

³ George Outland, "The Education of Transient Boys," *School and Society*, 40, 1, 933, 1934

⁴ J. Webb, *The Transient Unemployed* (Works Progress Administration Publication, 1935)

ing first the relationship between education and *educability*, and, second, the bearing of both these variables upon the factor of transiency.⁵

METHOD

The data of the present report were obtained in July 1935 from a carefully chosen sampling of New York City's male, nonresident population. At the time of the study, 7,700 transient men were on relief. Of these, a group of 500 was selected for study. For each client, socio-economic information was available from his intake-interview card and, in addition, his mental-test score on a thirty-minute group-intelligence examination (the Henson-Nelson High School Test of Mental Ability), given with adequate motivation under fairly favorable conditions. The "typical" transient was found to be 37.9 years of age, single, native white, a former resident of an urban Eastern community, an unskilled workman with elementary-school education, unemployed since February 1932, and transient since July 1934.

RESULTS

The distribution of reported educational attainment is closely similar to those presented by Schubert and Webb, and the average school grade of 8.03 corresponds with their findings.

Although these data should not be accepted uncritically, in view of the fact that the clients quite possibly exaggerated their actual academic achievement in the hope of more favorable vocational consideration by the relief agency, they may be regarded as essentially reliable. The fact that the table below indicates a consistent relationship between mental age and school grade attained (Pearson correlation $+ .41 \pm .02$) may be taken as an indication of reliability of report.

⁵ Schubert, who presents an incomplete report of the intelligence-test scores of 651 unselected transient subjects does not relate what he terms their "academic ability" either to their transiency or to their reported school progress.

(N 363)

<i>School Grade</i>	<i>Average Mental Age</i>
1 and 2	62.5
3 and 4	71.0
5 and 6	69.9
7 and 8	75.0
9 and 10	78.7
11 and 12	94.1
13 and 14	94.1
15 and 16	94.1

The transient clientele approximates fairly closely the general norm for educational achievement, and the shape of the distribution indicates a normal variability—in other words, our school systems have tended to regard the group as a *cross section* of the population as a whole.

The extent to which this assumption is warranted requires further consideration. If educational achievement is a function of educability, one might reasonably expect the distribution curve of intelligence-test scores to resemble that of academic attainment. Moreover, the score should indicate an average mental age of 13.83, which according to psycho-educational studies⁶ is standard for eight grades of schooling.

It is apparent that the group is not representative of the general population in intelligence. The low frequencies indicate that the transient unemployed differ from the general population not only insofar as they are transient and unemployed but also because they are of duller mentality.⁷ Further, their average present mental age of 12.14 is 1.69 years below the intellectual requirement for elementary-school graduation. Since 64 per cent of the cases left school before the age of seventeen, it may be assumed that their average

⁶ T. Kelley, G. Ruch, L. Terman, *New Stanford Achievement Test* (New York: World Book Company, 1929)

⁷ When the educational factor is held constant by considering only those cases which completed 7, 8, or 9 years of schooling, the average mental age and variability in test score is the same.

mental age at that time was even lower, and that the gap between capacity and academic level was therefore even greater; and, although the group has been treated by our educational system as fairly representative of the population as a whole, the inappropriateness of such treatment from the point of view of intellectual ability is revealed.

The positive relationship between academic achievement and mental level has already been commented upon. The figures show that men of each mental level have been advanced in school beyond their capacity to learn. The degree to which this unreasonably rapid, mechanized progress from grade to grade has affected vocational and, consequently, social adjustment requires more extended discussion.

It remains to inquire into the relationship between educational level and transiency. If period of transiency—length of time since leaving last legal residence—is accepted as a criterion for the latter variable, three fourths of the men "hit the road" between 1932 and 1935. Transiency, then, may be ascribed, primarily, to inability to compete successfully with resident employables for the few available jobs. To what extent may inappropriate educational background be a contributory factor?

The general tendency is for the academic level to decrease as period of transiency increases and educational achievement decreases as mental age drops. Which is of greater relative importance in transiency—education or intelligence? The following table is an attempt to evaluate these factors.

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Constants</i>	<i>Correlation</i>
Education and transiency	Age, Intelligence	—56
Intelligence and transiency	Age, Education	—23

The above data would seem to indicate that educational maladjustments (or, less probably, some higher correlative factor) are of greater significance than inferior mentality in the problem of transiency

DISCUSSION

From the point of view of an educational program, the unemployed transients have not been treated in accordance with the problems implicit in their intellectual limitations. The further evidence of a negative relationship between academic level and length of migration seems likewise to point to an educational philosophy operating to the social and vocational disadvantage of individuals of borderline intelligence. Transiency has been described as an expression of the inability of such individuals to compete successfully for jobs in their own communities during a period of scarcity of work. The data presented suggest that this inability to compete may, in part, be a consequence of inappropriate educational training. To imply that the problem of transiency is solely or even principally one of education would be naive, but it may well be that a more realistic school system might at least improve the chances of these men to sell their services. Our educators still err too frequently in the direction of standardization of treatment of all mental levels, and in failing to recognize that the duller pupils often profit more from an intensive period of trade training in some semiskilled or skilled occupational routine than from drill in abstract academic essentials. The orientation of the teacher should be toward individualized study of the aptitudes and deficiencies of the borderline students with a view to providing them with the vocational equipment for adequate self-support in adulthood.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed

NEW JOURNAL OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

A quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, is being established this year by the rural sociology section of the American Sociology Society. The managing editor of the new journal, which is to be published at the Louisiana State University, is Professor T Lynn Smith of Louisiana State University. The editors are: John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin; C. E. Lively, Ohio State University, Lowry Nelson, Utah State College (now on leave and with the Rural Resettlement Division, Washington, D C), Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University; and Carle C Zimmerman, Harvard University. The price is \$2.00 per year.

The magazine is established for the purpose of publishing and disseminating scientific studies of rural life. Louisiana State University is the guarantor. The only qualification which the University has put upon the editors is that the magazine must attempt to establish itself as quickly as possible as an authoritative expression of the best thought in the field of rural sociology. Carefully prepared and thoughtful manuscripts in this field should be sent to T Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Subscriptions are accepted at this address. The price is kept low in order that libraries, graduate students, and others interested in public affairs may subscribe. In each State, a committee has been appointed who will see that the teachers in rural sociology, the libraries, the research agencies, and the graduate students are given an opportunity to become subscribers to the journal.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DELINQUENTS AND NONDELINQUENTS

A qualitative comparison of boys diagnosed as having schizophrenia, with boys who are alleged delinquents, and with boys who are neither

schizophrenic nor delinquent in a selected immigrant community in Chicago

This project developed from a study¹ of the distribution of rates for certain major psychoses in the City of Chicago. In this study the incidence of schizophrenia shows a very high correlation with certain indices for community disorganization. There were also some significant variations in the distribution of the rates for the different types of schizophrenia. More specifically, the catatonic schizophrenic rates showed a very high correlation with the index of the percentage of foreign-born plus Negroes in the City, while the paranoid schizophrenic rates showed practically no correlation with this index. Conversely, the paranoid schizophrenic rates showed a high positive correlation with an index of mobility, namely, the percentage of hotel residents and lodgers in the population, while the catatonic schizophrenic rates showed a low negative correlation with this index. An analysis of the age on commitment to the mental hospital shows the catatonic group to be, on the whole, a much younger one than the paranoid. As is well known, delinquency rates are also, on a comparative basis, extremely high in those immigrant communities where the catatonic high rates show their most marked concentration. This combination of facts suggested the desirability of comparing the delinquent and the schizophrenic boy from the angles of their social experience and their personality development.

Some of the questions which appear pertinent to this investigation are the following:

1. Do boys who are delinquent ever develop schizophrenia?
2. Do boys who exhibit symptoms of schizophrenia become delinquent?
3. Are boys who are lone delinquents likely to develop schizophrenia?
4. What differences and similarities are there in the social experience and the social contacts when the delinquent, schizophrenic, and so-called "normal" boys are compared?
5. What differences and similarities stand out in the actual quality of the social relationships in the families between the three groups of boys?
6. How does the incidence of schizophrenia compare with the incidence of delinquency in this particular immigrant community?

¹This complete study is contained in an unpublished manuscript by Dr. Robert E. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, Jr., of the University of Chicago, through whose courtesy this statement has been provided.

To date seven boys have been selected and studied intensively. Of these boys five carried a catatonic diagnosis and two a hebephrenic diagnosis at the hospital. All of the catatonic diagnosed boys with one exception had been returned to the community at the beginning of the study. The two hebephrenic diagnosed boys are still in the hospital. Of the five catatonic cases all were native born of Italian parentage. Of the two hebephrenic cases one was native born of native parentage and the other was native born of Polish parentage. After the selection of the cases much time was spent in getting acquainted with the boys and their families and attempting to familiarize them in some measure with what was being attempted. In making the contacts the examiner attempted to make them as unofficial as possible.

The chief techniques which have been used are the interview and the life history. When rapport had been established with the boy and his family, the boy was induced to tell his own experience in his own way. Interviews or life histories were also taken from the other members in the family whenever this was possible and in most instances it was. Special effort was made to obtain the life histories of any brothers of the boy in the family. Some of these brothers had records of delinquency and others did not. The statistical method will be used in comparing the incidence of schizophrenia with that of delinquency in the community and to check all schizophrenic boys with all delinquent boys in a certain time period for duplications.

SURVEY OF RELEASE PROCEDURES

The Department of Justice announces the Attorney General's "Survey of Release Procedures" under the administrative direction of Justin Miller with Barkev S. Sanders as technical director, and an executive committee composed of Brien McMahon, Assistant Attorney General, Sanford Bates, director of the Bureau of Prisons, and Justin Miller, chairman of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Crime.

The ultimate objective of the study is to disclose the effectiveness of the different statutory, institutional, and other measures used concurrently in the several jurisdictions, while a subordinate purpose is to determine the nature, extent, and prognostic value of information now obtained by courts, probation officers, prisons, and parole officials.

The survey will cover both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of penal and correctional systems as far as they touch the problem of release. Under the qualitative aspect of the study will be included (a) an

examination of the laws governing disposition of persons convicted of a crime; (b) a study of facilities available for administering probation, (c) a study of types of disposition other than probation and imprisonment, such as suspended sentence, fines, etc.; (d) a study of institutional facilities, policies, and procedures as affecting releases, (e) a study of laws, policies, and procedures in granting pardons and commutation, and in granting and administering parole, additional release, "good time," etc., (f) the writing of a comprehensive summary of the findings as specified for each of the jurisdictions studied in conformity with the instructions of the administrative director.

The quantitative phase of the study will deal with the social, personal, environmental, and other characteristics of persons found guilty of crime.

The field work will be carried out by eleven regional directors, one field supervisor, and eleven regional supervisors assigned to different sections of the country. The statistical work will be carried on by the specially trained regional field supervisors with the actual transcription being done by relief-work clerks.

Eventually all completed materials and schedules will be forwarded to Washington to be rechecked, edited, and coded and then transcribed for a Hollerith Study.

It is hoped that the study will aid in reducing attacks on penal methods and encourage a more enlightened and generous public support for these programs. It is also assumed that this report will stimulate action for more uniform laws and more varied and more individualized penal practices.

BOOK REVIEWS

I Knew Them in Prison, by MARY B. HARRIS. New York Viking Press, 1936, 405 pages.

This book is one of the most fascinating and substantial pieces of reading matter that has come before the public within the last year. The author came from civilian life without previous experience into the role of superintendency of the Womens' Workhouse on Blackwells Island. It is a long sad story of the clash of ideals of one with vision and opposed to this one a large group of political henchmen entrenched in a non-coöperative bureaucracy. The sordidness is relieved by touches of humor introduced artistically by the author and a challenging attitude of Miss Harris who stood by her ideals despite lack of cooperation and misunderstandings. Never once does the writer evidence pessimism and it is gratifying to find that in the latter part of the book she was able to put into practice some of the curative and reformatory measures which were so close to her heart. It is a challenge to America where crime is so large a factor. We see large institutions filled with recidivists. Perhaps if the approach of Miss Harris were followed there would be more cures and fewer relapses.

Courts and Public School Property, by HAROLD H. PUNKE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936, 313 pages.

In the lengthening list of new books dealing with various aspects of law, as it relates to schools, this text takes an important place. The author has developed the principles of common law which apply to those problems of school administration related to the acquisition, use, and disposal of school property. In this process the decisions of the highest courts in the several States have been critically examined and sufficient quotations have been made to enable the reader to trace the reasoning of the court in his particular jurisdiction.

Both the table of contents and the index are admirable in their scope and clarity. The text answers hundreds of perplexing questions, and should be found in the professional library of every school executive.

Outlines of General Psychopathology, by WILLIAM MALAMUD. New York W. W. Norton and Company, 1935, 462 pages.

Outlines of General Psychopathology is another book in the field of psychiatry and abnormal psychology. The content of the book is good. The selection of subjects is admirable, but the arrangement of the material is poor. The book cannot be used for beginning students as it presupposes a rather extensive background and requires some ability to discriminate between different theories of psychopathology. It will prove to be a very good book for reference for graduate students. The treatment of some of the subjects may be considered inadequate and its classification does not agree with the usual classifications of mental disorders. There is an excellent bibliography. Teachers of mental hygiene and psychopathology can profit by reading this book. As a reference book it is to be commended. It is doubtful whether it will make a good textbook.

Practical Psychology, by RUDOLF ALLERS; translated by VERA BARCLAY. New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1936, 190 pages.

Vera Barclay has made an admirable condensation of the large work of Allers, translating in a facile manner the more practical and important passages from this volume. While the book is in no wise a popularized version of a socio-psychological work, it is so written that it can readily be comprehended by those devoid of technical training. The first chapter sets forth the clientele for whom the work is intended, parents, teachers, educationalists, doctors, and clergy. It is fair to say that for the entire group the work is of value. There is no riding of fads and an admirable escape from the bizarre. It deserves a wide sale.

Leadership or Domination, by PAUL PIGORS. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935, 354 pages.

The present struggle between democracy and fascism is basically a conflict between leadership and domination. During the past decade hundreds of books have been published in the general field of this book. However, without exception they have been ardent propaganda for whichever type of government the writer endorses and impassioned criticism of all others. Dr. Pigors has made a unique contribution in his impersonal and impartial analysis not of the types of government, but of the sociological processes which characterize both leadership and domination. He finds both types in animals, in children, and in primitive society. The present conflict between leadership as exemplified in democracy and domination as applied in the totalitarian state is but the same social phenomenon enacted on a larger scale.

Although the author devotes only a few pages to a specific analysis of governments, the entire volume, by implication, is a clear analysis of the forces and methods of both leadership and domination and the social values and dangers of both when either carried is to excess.

Stanford Horizons, by RAY LYMAN WILBUR. Stanford, California Stanford University Press, 1936, 165 pages. .

This is a volume of the addresses of the president of Stanford University from his inaugural to his message to the graduating class of 1935, with six other lectures added. It is extremely interesting reading, not alone because of its splendid life philosophy and beautifully turned phrases, but because it traces one university's attempts to meet the changing demands of the past twenty years.

Geography: An Introduction to Human Ecology (The Century Earth Science Series, Kirtley F. Mather, editor), by C. LANGDON WHITE AND GEORGE T. RENNER. New York and London D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, 790 pages.

This textbook justifies the claims made for it by its editor in holding the reader's interest, "a rare virtue in a textbook" (p. v). It illustrates the transformation which geography has undergone as a subject in the field of higher education during the past quarter century, revealing clearly its special and unique contribution to the better understanding of the problem of human existence. The older idea of environmental factors as a determinative influence over man has been replaced by the conception of geography as man's adjustment to his natural environment. The authors stress the climatic factor, without, however, neglecting the other factors involved such as the biotic, physiographic, hydrographic, and social.

American Neutrality, 1914-1917, by CHARLES SEYMOUR. New Haven Yale University Press, 1935, 187 pages.

This little volume might well be called "A Vindication of Wilson." Through many documentary statements, the author refutes both Millis in *Road to War* and Hildebrecht in *Merchants of Death*. He shows Wilson's passionate desire for peace, traces his resistance to the war fever following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, follows in detail the German resistance to peace overtures and their insistence upon resuming sub-

marine warfare, and gives the details of the last steps which made national honor more vital than peace.

There are many who agree with Mr. Seymour. This was best evidenced by the wave of editorial criticism which followed the implied slur to Wilson's political integrity given before the recent munitions investigation committee. To the present writer, the argument is not conclusive despite the author's statement that Wilson was his own Secretary of State. His very failure to include other personalities who were less immune to economic interests makes the book less convincing.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Adult Intelligence*, by THEODORE WEISENBURG, ANNE ROE, AND KATHERINE E. MCBRIDE. New York: Commonwealth Fund.
- Alien Americans*, by B. SCHRIEKE. New York. Viking Press.
- American Foundations*, by H. C. COFFMAN. New York: Association Press.
- Anatomy of Personality*, by CLEMENTS C. FRY AND HOWARD W. HAGGARD. New York. Harper and Brothers.
- Autoritat Und Familie, Studien Aus Dem Institut Für Sozialforschung* (Studies on Authority and the Family). New York: International Institute of Social Research.
- Control in Human Societies*, by JEROME DOWD. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.
- Crime and Sexual Development*, by A. N. FOXE. Glens Falls, New York. Monograph Editions.
- Economic Ability of the States to Finance Public Schools*, by LESLIE L. CHISM. New York. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Educational Psychology*, by A. M. JORDON. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Family Behavior*, by BESS V. CUNNINGHAM. Philadelphia. W. B. Saunders Company.
- Freedom Farewell*, by PHYLLIS BENTLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- From Then Until Now*, by JOHN T. GREENAN AND H. LOUISE COTTRELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Growing Superior Children*, by L. NEWTON KUGELMASS. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

THE NEW OWNERSHIP OF THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

With the current issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY the ownership and management pass into the hands of Rho Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa with all its assets, good will, and best wishes of the former owner. Such a transfer cannot pass without comment.

THE JOURNAL IS in the middle of the tenth year of its publication and in this decade it has passed through the most trying business depression in the history of the United States. A period in which some magazines have had to discontinue publication and others have had to be reorganized. Very few have been able to weather the storm without outside financial support. What has been the history of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY in this period? It started under the ownership of the American Viewpoint Society with substantially its present editorial staff, with no outside financial assistance, and continued for five years. The financial difficulties of the publishers and other reasons than the expense of THE JOURNAL required that the company relinquish its publication. A new company was formed with the editor-in-chief as the owner of the entire stock, and this ownership has continued up to the present. At the end of four and one-half years of this ownership and editorial responsibility the assets of THE JOURNAL have accumulated to approximately \$6,000 with a substantial surplus in cash and with an extensive subscription list, in addition to whatever good will may

have also accrued. Therefore, THE JOURNAL is financially independent, a going concern, and has continued to improve in make-up and in the character of the content. Moreover, it has not been without distinction in these years. All of its articles have been listed in the Wilson *Education Index* from the first and it was chosen as one of the official organs of the American Sociological Society before the Society began the publication of its own journal. It has received distinct recognition at home and abroad and has been regarded by educators and sociologists as a contribution to the sociological approach to education. Furthermore, its articles have been listed in the *Education Digest* and *Educational Abstracts* since the beginning of their publication. It is desirable here to present a summary of the contributions, and the character of the articles from the beginning to the present time. During these years THE JOURNAL has sought consistently to fulfill the twofold objective implied in its subtitle: A Magazine of Theory and Practice. Interpreting education as the sum total of the agencies which influence the behavior both of the child and of the adult, THE JOURNAL has included a wide range of fields in the articles which it has published.

During the first three years, each number was a general issue setting forth basic sociological theory and its implications for education. Beginning with the issue of April 1930, several numbers each year have been devoted to a specific problem in order to present a more comprehensive analysis of each. The following special numbers have appeared:

- Educational Planning for Social Reconstruction (3)
- Health Education (2)
- Schools That Serve the Community (2)
- Curriculum (2)
- Sociological Research (2)
- Character Education (2)
- Child Guidance (2)
- Narcotic Education
- Sociological Basis of Method

Adult Education
The Boys' Club
The Motion Picture
Special Education
Juvenile Delinquency
Negro Education
Nationalism's Challenge to Education
Vocational Education
Education and Social Work
Sex Education
Attitudes and Education

Although the editorial staff is composed of the members of the department of educational sociology of the School of Education, New York University, the active interest of the editorial council has been consistently maintained. Several members of the council have edited the special numbers and all of them have contributed in other ways to the success of the magazine.

The degree to which *THE JOURNAL* has been a medium of expression for the larger field of educational sociology is evidenced in the fact that there has been a total of 331 individuals who have contributed major articles. They have represented many fields of service and every level of the educational system. Their geographic distribution includes all but five States and four foreign countries.

From the foregoing summary one can easily see how *THE JOURNAL* has come to be an indispensable publication for educators and why it is necessary to continue the publication under auspices that will guarantee its permanence. The question arises immediately as to the reason the owner wishes to transfer a magazine with such a history and achievement, a magazine which is financially independent, and to relinquish these valuable assets.

THE JOURNAL has been made an outright gift to the Chapter for two reasons: First, it is a deep-seated conviction that the ownership should not remain in the hands of one individual but should be in the hands of a self-perpetuating organization to ensure its independ-

ence and the contribution that it has made and is making to a sociological approach to education should not be involved in whatever might happen to a particular individual. The first motive then for the transfer is to ensure permanency. Second: *THE JOURNAL* will have to have funds to guarantee its continuance under the new ownership. The gift of *THE JOURNAL* with its substantial assets, including cash surplus has, therefore, been made to ensure the success of the publication and its continued expansion in the future. This then explains the reason for the gift and the transfer to an organization which, by its nature, ensures permanency. Why then should we select Rho Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa for the particular organization to which this important publication is entrusted for the future?

Phi Delta Kappa is an organization devoted to research, service, and leadership, and Rho Chapter has been distinctive in its contribution to all of these fields. Therefore, there could be no greater guarantee that the present spirit and policy of *THE JOURNAL* will be realized than in the hands of Rho. Rho has on its own account instituted and published research. It has rendered great service to the educational profession and it has exercised outstanding leadership in the field of education. For these reasons we can rest content when *THE JOURNAL* is once launched under the auspices of the new ownership. Furthermore, from the standpoint of the organization, it will provide an even greater opportunity for service, research, and leadership. It is expected that the members will make use of the columns of *THE JOURNAL* to present their studies in the field of the sociological approach to the educational problems of contemporary life and thus give a wider audience to what they are doing.

Naturally it is with a feeling of loss, which amounts to the relinquishing of a close friendship, that the editor turns over a journal which has been such an intimate part of his life through this decade. However, this loss is compensated for by the fact that the present owner is a part of Rho and for fifteen years has had the most intimate association with the Chapter in its entirety and with the

leaders among its members. This transfer does not mean separation from the enterprise but rather an opportunity for a joint promotion of what has been deepest in the minds of those responsible for *THE JOURNAL* and its development to the present.

The question naturally arises as to the future policy of *THE JOURNAL* and this question needs to be answered on behalf of all its readers. The new owners have chosen to continue the present editorial board with an enlarged editorial council with the object of continuing the policy of the publication as it has developed in the past. This commits neither the editorial board nor the owners to the future since in the period of social reconstruction and educational readjustment no one would dare to predict the line of emphasis over a period of years. However, it is definitely the policy of the new management to continue *THE JOURNAL* as representative of its field with the policy of continuing a social approach to the study and discussion of educational problems. What the emphasis should be at the various periods in the future will be left for the editorial board and owners at that time to determine. This understanding ensures not only the permanency but the character of *THE JOURNAL* and means that the readers will have an even better journal and one that still more directly represents the field.

A word should be said about the reason for the success of *THE JOURNAL* in this trying period. The success cannot be attributed to the owner and editor-in-chief but rather to the unselfish devotion to the enterprise of the whole editorial staff, the editorial council, and last, but not the least, the distinguished service of the printing office of New York University. All these persons without compensation have contributed of their energies and it is with distinct pleasure that I express my appreciation.

Now, to Rho Chapter, *THE JOURNAL* is yours, its future depends upon you and will rest in the enthusiasm and devotion of your membership. I have no question as to the outcome.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

A STUDENT VENTURE IN COÖPERATIVE LIVING

ARTHUR E. ALBRECHT

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The movies and collegiate magazines have given a good deal of attention to parties, dances, and athletic events of college students. But they tell us little of how the average student eats and sleeps. Yet to be successful a student must have good food, a comfortable room for studying, a good bed, and a place to meet his friends.

A brief visit to over a dozen colleges in various parts of the country made me see that the practices of eating and lodging vary a good deal, even in the same college. Authorities do not concern themselves much with these twin problems. Other colleges insist that students live at dormitories and eat together in order to encourage a social spirit. At some colleges, students, other than freshmen, live and eat at fraternity houses or at approved boarding houses

In normal times, eating and sleeping present no problem to students. During the past few years, however, an increasing number of students have found it necessary to economize in order to be able to stay in college. It has been difficult to obtain outside work, and then only at long hours and at low pay. If students "batched" to save money, they found it time consuming and in many cases monotonous and lonely.

A group of students at the University of Washington in Seattle seem to have found a satisfactory solution for their difficulties. The answer to their problem was the setting up of the Students' Cooperative Association, which was merely an idea in May 1933, but now operates ten rented coöperative houses for about three hundred and twenty-five students.

This unique venture grew out of student need for lower living costs and for normal social life. It was started by Walter Honderich, a former student at the University, who had to earn the money for his own education. Mr. Honderich knew student life, knew what

equipment was needed, and in the summer of 1933 approached and secured the support of the University administration to promote cooperative housing among the student body. By September twenty-seven students had signed up to form the first housing unit and most of them had sent in their initial ten dollar deposit which was used to get things started. At the beginning of each month, assessments were made to cover the estimated expenses of the following month. Each applicant signed a contract with the manager, Mr. Honderich, giving him the right to direct the financial and social policies of the organization, and the complete control over the selection of members. The manager, in return, agreed that the association would be operated on a cost-sharing basis, and that complete records would be kept of all transactions. Centralized authority was considered to be absolutely essential to the establishment of the cooperative association.

In spite of early difficulties, there were other influences which slowly but surely welded the group together, such as the fine support given the cooperative by the dean of men. Moreover, the help of a small group of other students in attending to the practical details of housekeeping helped put the first house over.

It is interesting to note that once the cooperative plan actually had gotten under way, word of its cost-cutting possibilities spread rapidly and soon thereafter a second unit was added. This unit helped reduce overhead, as both groups were served from one kitchen and in one dining hall. Meals for all of the ten houses are now prepared in a large central kitchen in one of the houses. Steaming hot food is distributed by truck to the houses in insulated steamers and ovens. One full-time cook, one full-time baker, and a purchasing agent, who also takes care of food distribution, provide all the skilled help needed. They are assisted by two house-boys. It is estimated that the central kitchen saves about fifty per cent in labor alone and, moreover, makes possible centralized buying. Menus are carefully planned and recipes are standardized.

One of the first problems the management faced was the furnishing of the houses they had leased. This was done by careful purchasing of the necessary furniture and equipment and by the gradual establishment of a credit rating among satisfactory furniture houses.

Four major departments were set up in each house: kitchen help, maintenance, janitor, and laundry. Every boy was assigned to one of these groups and given a definite job. Perhaps the greatest hindrance to the development of the work during these early months was the prevailing idea that anybody who did some work voluntarily was playing the fool. Gradually, the more socially minded members caught a new vision of the inherent values in this movement and one by one volunteered for extra services. Shortly after, there came genuine progress.

One of the distinctive features of the whole program was the lack of formalism and lack of adherence to set standards. Each person was given a maximum opportunity to show what he could do. There was no formal disciplinary committee and the executive council acted in only a few special cases.

From May 1933 until June 1935 there was no permanent organization. Temporarily, highly centralized control seemed desirable. However, in June 1935 the Students' Cooperative Association was incorporated under the Washington Cooperative Law and thereby the first step taken toward permanent organization with democratic control.

The by-laws were patterned as nearly as possible after the recommendations of the Federal Government and the Cooperative League. Changes were made only to keep the control of the Association in the hands of students who had been members long enough to appreciate its problems and to prove that they are willing to help fulfill its purpose.

The by-laws of the Association state that the object of the Association is "to promote the economic welfare of its members through democratic methods, by utilizing their united funds and united

efforts for the purchase, distribution, and production of commodities of the best quality, and for the performance of services in the interest of the members in the most economic way." The objects do not stop there but go on with a further provision which should be incorporated in the by-laws of all cooperative societies; namely, "to associate itself with other consumers' cooperative societies throughout the State, the United States, and countries abroad for mutual aid." These students are ready and willing to associate themselves with others. And further, "to advance the consumers' cooperative movement as a system of business having service for its motive, and to do such other things as shall serve the economic and cultural welfare of its members and the public."

The by-laws provide adherence to cooperative principles of voting, interest, rebates, etc. Provisions are made for associate and full membership. The latter type of membership is open only to associate members for at least one year "who have demonstrated through their own voluntary activities that they understand the ideals and methods of democratic cooperation, and who have pledged themselves to assume definite responsibility in promoting the economic and cultural welfare of all its members and the public." Full members alone have the right to elect the board of directors for the Association and to change its major policies. Associate members have equal standing in all other matters such as house elections, policies, etc., as long as these do not conflict with the policies of the central association.

These excerpts from the by-laws and the following abstract from a recent bulletin of the Association indicate that the organization is not thinking of the cooperative houses merely as an isolated venture. "Coöperative housing is the newest frontier in higher education. In this movement students are working out together the ideals and methods of a new economic democracy. Starting on a simple scale and with limited funds, they are progressively cutting living costs and releasing more time for other activities. At the same time

they are building a social program in which the welfare of each individual is the first consideration. Here, in its truest sense, democracy is becoming a philosophy of action."

The Association said editorially in the May 1935 issue of *The Cooperative Venture* that

No adequate technique has yet been developed for the organization of student cooperative programs. Those now in existence are varied almost as much in kind as in numbers. They are for the most part temporary, and designed merely to meet some local situation. We may be certain, however, that these local experiments are the forerunners of a general movement that can and will revolutionize student life in this country.

Leaders now in the field should recognize their opportunities and work more definitely toward the development of a national program. They should become thoroughly familiar with the world-wide consumers' cooperative movement and challenge their students to take a more active part in it. Some definite means should be established by which the various student groups can be brought into closer touch with each other.

The affairs of the Students' Cooperative Association have been managed by Walter Honderich as general manager. His efficiency, executive ability, and enthusiasm for coöperation have won the confidence of the college administration and of business men, and has inspired the members of the Association. He is assisted by a treasurer and a secretary, who look after the office and keep the records of the various departments.

General administrative problems are discussed at biweekly council meetings, where the staff meets with the house presidents and house managers to discuss policies and programs. The house presidents represent the social and activity organization, consisting of the social, the educational, and athletic committees in the houses. The managers supervise the kitchen, janitor, and maintenance departments in their houses. There is in addition a general research and a publicity committee. The research committee gathers information

on the general cooperative movement. The publicity committee writes articles and gives talks on the house and cooperation.

The following business principles, briefly stated, may be of value to other groups operating cooperative houses. Buying is done in large consignments, but preference is given to the students who wish to bring produce from their own homes. Work is so organized that each member can do his quota of work, and so eliminate unnecessary expenditures for labor. A student may, however, pay for his work instead of "working it out." Work is departmentalized under competent supervisors to ensure efficiency. A complete set of records is maintained. Operation is on a cash basis with all assessments due and payable monthly in advance. There is a direct sharing of expenses and savings by each member, thus giving an incentive to reduce waste. Any unnecessary surplus is credited to members on a patronage basis. Full responsibility is placed in the hands of the general manager for supervision and control of the organization and its business transactions.

The actual cost of room and board under this plan has been reduced to about twenty dollars per month for those contributing three hours of work per week. In addition to financial savings, the students have had congenial group fellowship at costs considerably below those prevailing in fraternity houses. Furthermore, the students have gained a good deal of valuable experience in learning to work together. They have learned to govern themselves without having to resort to traditional methods or outside control.

This venture at the University of Washington, which has now grown to five houses for men and five for women, has stimulated attempts at other Western universities and inquiries from Eastern centers. The various administrative authorities at the University have expressed themselves as highly pleased with this project. Dean Herbert T. Condon, dean of men, has said: "The Association is filling a long-felt want in the economic and social life of the students.

The plan has the complete moral support of the University administration."

An examination of the activities of the Association by the writer shows that its success is due to a number of circumstances. In the first place there was an actual need for an association of this type. For example: Mr. H. L. Seamans, general secretary of the University Y. M. C. A., has said: "Students have found it necessary to reduce the cost of living. The coöperative club presents the most practical and valuable solution of the problem." It is the opinion of others that a number of students would have found it impossible to continue at the University without lowering living costs.

In the second place, the organization is ably managed. The manager insists upon efficiency in kitchen and house management. Cost accounting is used, other records are kept readily available, definite contracts are entered into with students on a cash basis and, as far as possible, purchasing is scientifically done.

In the third place, the research and publicity committees play an important role in making this coöperative venture a success. A separate section in the new by-laws provides that "the educational work of this Association shall be considered a part of regular business and should receive a definite apportionment of the regular budget."

The task of providing lower living costs through a coöperative type of organization has not been easy. But the cooperative houses have filled a genuine need for students who have limited resources and who are seriously interested in working out a solution of their own problems. These young men and young women are on their way and know where they are going. College students elsewhere are watching their venture with keen interest and high hopes.

THE MINISTER AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER

JEROME DAVIS
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The minister, the student of religion, and the religious institution can be just as much an object of sociological research as any other aspect of the social order. In the Yale University Divinity School I have a laboratory with some 220 cases whose reactions and interactions and whose group associations can be studied with considerable care. Almost every community has its religious institution and leaders who can be put under the sociological microscope. Unfortunately in the past we have had few accurate scientific sociological analyses of the ministers. To cite only a few available sources in this field, H. Paul Douglass has made a beginning in his studies under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Dr. Arthur E. Holt of Chicago has supervised some other work. Professor Ray H. Abrams has made a penetrating analysis of the reaction of the ministers to the war situation. The four-volume study on the *Education of American Ministers* also has valuable data. Kirby Page sent out a questionnaire on the beliefs of ministers which has some useful material. The Religion and Labor Foundation of New Haven also sent out a social action questionnaire to 100,000 religious leaders which will be discussed later. Considering the importance of the subject, however, the paucity of material is rather surprising. The religious behavior patterns and the reactions of the minister to the cultural milieu in which he is immersed are still largely a virgin field for exploration and scientific analysis. In the discussion of this subject, therefore, it is with a clear realization that we do not have adequate data.

From such studies as have been made it is quite apparent that the cultural pattern of the religious leader conforms in large measure to the pattern of the social order in which he happens to be immersed. Under the Tsar's regime the priest conformed to the codes

of the aristocracy and did little or nothing that conflicted with this code. In Germany the religious leader conformed to the folkways and mores of the German people and was a staunch supporter of the Kaiser. It is inevitable that organized religion and the minister should be dependent on the economic climate in which they are immersed.

At the present time the minister represents the *status quo*. The membership of his church is to a considerable extent made up of the propertied group.

In the pioneer era to belong to the church meant to stand for something different. When the first Congregational minister went to Cheyenne, Wyoming, in the seventies, for instance, there was a row of saloons on one side of the main street and a row of houses of prostitution on the other, but no church. To belong to a church at that time meant having a behavior pattern distinct from the majority.

Today all this is changed. The church is a recognized part of "respectable" life. It is almost part of the folkways to be a member. Even hard-boiled stock promoters who care nothing for the essence of religion belong to the church as a matter of financial policy. Nearly all the people are members, not necessarily for religious purposes but because they wish to be associated with a group who believe in the established mores. Today there are no particular requirements of church membership which would bar any average member of a community. Consequently church members are not so different from any other group. In fact a tabulation of financiers, speculators, industrialists who exploit labor, promoters of questionable securities, and politicians of all varieties would probably find the overwhelming majority enrolled in some religious institution. All of this means that the average minister can scarcely be an effective agent for social reconstruction except at the risk of salary or of position or both. Few ministers intentionally desire to be subservient to powerful business interests, but inevitably adapt their

program to the economic climate in which they find themselves. Self-preservation is a powerful law of nature in religious circles as well as elsewhere.

It is small wonder that a recent study of the minister found that "at least 75 per cent of them accept the present condition of community life as inevitable . . . and give minimum attention to the causes of poverty or social maladjustment."¹

In a capitalistic society the church of necessity, therefore, becomes interrelated to the capitalistic order at a thousand points. This is nowhere more clearly shown than in its boards of control, in the sources of the gifts to the church, and in its investments for income and profit.

In a sample study² of 387 church boards of the leading Protestant denominations made in 1928, it was shown that 55 per cent of the board members were either proprietors, managers, or in some professional service. Omitting the churches in towns under 5,000 population, the merchants were by far the most numerous class on the boards, with the clerks and bankers ranking on the average next. Of all church boards, including those in towns under 5,000, in proportion to their numbers the bankers were most often elected chairmen, while the manufacturers followed next. In proportion to their total number on the boards the bankers were most favored with the chairmanship, the manufacturers being second.

In spite of the representation of laborers and farmers, it must be recognized that on the whole the membership of the boards of churches is made up overwhelmingly of the favored economic classes. Except in towns under 5,000 the great bulk of the population is not represented in proportion to their numbers in the community. The class character of the church board is clearly shown in the occupation of the chairman of the board. Often he is the dom-

¹ Mark A. May, *The Profession of the Ministry* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934).

² Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and Its Culture* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 379 ff.

inant personality and the bias of the board may be revealed in his choice. If we omit from classification the ministers, the occupational ranking of the chairmen appears in the following tables:

<i>Particular Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
Merchant	35
Farmer	26
Banker	21
Manufacturer	15
Lawyer	13
Physician	9
Laborer	6

Total	125
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<i>Class</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Proprietor	76	31
Managerial	30	12
Professional	40	16
Commercial	29	12
Clerical	11	5
Manual	31	13
Agricultural	26	11
Totals	243	100

This indicates that the group of proprietors have nearly one third of the chairmen while the managerial and commercial classes have an additional 24 per cent. In other words, over half the chairmen belong to one of these three business groups. When the professional class is included this proportion reaches nearly three fourths of the total. Therefore, to some degree, there is an interlocking control of the church by the same capitalistic interests that control business.

Since the control of the churches is largely in the hands of the propertied interests it is natural that the church as an institution should take on many of the characteristics of the dominant social

order. The churches themselves are huge business enterprises. The total value of church property in New York, as put down by the tax assessors for purposes of exemption, is \$282,659,289. This does not include the taxable property of the churches—real estate, stocks, bonds, and cash waiting for investment.

In the nation as a whole the total value of the 210,924 edifices reaches the staggering proportions of \$3,859,500,610, or an average of \$18,920. In the cities the average church edifice is valued at \$53,538; about 21 per cent have debts on the buildings to a total of over \$432,000,000. Small wonder that Dr. W. C. Cavert, general secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, says: "The church demands of the modern minister administrative ability as great as and of a type not unlike that demanded in large industrial and business enterprises."

Such studies as are available, which are admittedly fragmentary, show that the churches are similarly dependent on the upper middle class and wealthy group for their financial support. While there are some of the wealthy class who do not give to the church, a large number of religious institutions have one or more wealthy persons who contribute out of all proportion to what the rank and file of the membership can do. The result is usually a conscious or unconscious acquiescence on the part of the minister to these dominant individuals.

The interlocking relationship of the church to the economic order is further shown in its investments. These investments, endowments, and surplus funds run up into hundreds of millions of dollars. They are rarely invested with any consideration of the ethical character of the enterprise, and the church thus has a tremendous stake in the profit system. For instance, the annuity fund for congregational ministers has large sums invested with the Fifth Avenue Bank in the bonds of fifty-four different railroads, nine different governmental agencies, two different industries, and forty-three different public utilities. In addition it has stock in the Ameri-

can Telephone and Telegraph Company and in the General Electric Company, besides real-estate holdings. The welfare of the church is thus bound up financially with the welfare of capitalism.

The basic fact perhaps in the analysis I am making is that the church and the religious leader inevitably adapt themselves to the pattern of the dominant culture within any particular nation or within any particular cultural epoch. At the present time we are living in a capitalistic world. Consequently the church has gradually adapted itself to capitalism. It is not surprising that capitalistic interests should continually attempt to make use of the church for their own ends. For instance, the president of the American Bar Association in 1934 gave the following advice to the students at the Harvard Law School:^a

Go to church even if it is hard to take. You'll meet a lot of nice people there. It isn't so important for you to see them as for them to see you. Now that's called the church racket, but what of it, as long as you're getting business in a quiet, genteel way.

It is possible that another adaptation of religion to capitalism is that the ideal is to some extent separated from its practical application. One of the students in the Yale Divinity School in 1926 wrote his thesis evaluating the social teachings in the International Graded Lessons of the Sunday School for the Senior High School. He found that "practically all of the lessons are treated from the individual's point of view, the social outlook being practically disregarded." In the pupil's books, for instance, he found no direct teaching on "property," "profits," "industrial democracy," "business relations," or "child labor."

In the field of religious education some notable studies have been made by and in cooperation with Dr. Hugh Hartshorne. He shows that this type of education is largely of the transmissive type. A Sunday-school class was rarely led "to think of the work of the

^a Jerome Davis, *op cit.*, p. 260.

school as having a meaning for everyday life and conduct." The most conspicuous failure of these schools was that there was no real attempt made to find out the needs of the pupils in the home and the community and fit the program to that, the studies found that there was an isolation of the church from the community. There was "only slight effort to get acquainted with and meet community needs."

Dr. Hugh S. Magill, general secretary of the International Council of Religious Education, thought it was perfectly compatible for him to have a paid position as head of the Hall of Religion at the World's Fair and a paid position as president of the American Federation of Utility Investors, which was engaged in combatting the Roosevelt program of the Tennessee Valley Authority and public ownership, and at the same time to be general secretary of the International Council of Religious Education. This, however, finally proved too much for his religious board, who forced him to give up his paid public-utility position. In the end, however, he decided to give up his work with the International Council of Religious Education rather than with the Utility Investors.

The studies of Dr. H. Paul Douglass have shown that the church tends to move away from the areas of social need in the cities. In Springfield, Massachusetts, for instance, he shows that as the neighborhood gets poorer the church tends to leave it and go out to the suburbs where the better class of people live. This is a natural reaction in a social and economic environment divided into classes.

The Religion and Labor Foundation of New Haven has recently made a study of the action pattern of the religious leaders of the nation. A social-action questionnaire was sent to 100,000 religious leaders of 22 major faiths and denominations, accompanied by a covering letter signed by 14 distinguished clergymen representing Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. There were 47 specific questions covering social legislation, civil liberties, labor action, political action, penal reform, rural cooperation, membership in organizations

working for social justice, and specific instances of personal and group action for social justice. The returns from the 4,700 who replied show that the religious leaders on the whole have been loath to take action which would cause the opposition of the propertied groups in their community. On the other hand, the fundamental basis of their religion keeps driving them toward action and attitudes which are in conflict with capitalism.

The answers to the question on political allegiance show how cautious the religious leaders are. Two fifths were unwilling to say that they would support any group which gave promise of progress, or declared that they never aided any one political party. On the other hand, the definite promise to support a political party ran from 36, or .8 per cent, for the Communist party to 489, or 10.4 per cent, for the Farm-Labor or Progressive party. The latter figure is slightly more than favored the Republican party, which had 467 adherents, or 9.9 per cent. The Socialist party secured 381 pledges of assistance, or 8.1 per cent, slightly more than the Democrats. Combined, the Left Wing groups show that over one fifth of those who responded are willing to support radical political parties. On the other hand very few of these same ministers *have* actually aided political parties in the past. In fact, less than 250 out of nearly 5,000 had ever done so before.⁴

The limits of space in this article do not permit giving the detailed answers for all the other questions, but the significant findings can be summarized as follows

Roughly 3,500 religious leaders throughout the United States have pledged themselves to support old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and the Child Labor Amendment. Even more, 3,846 have agreed to support the right of freedom of speech, of assembly, and the press by preaching, public statement in forums, and by writing. Whenever strikes occur almost as many will make

⁴The complete tables are given in the *American Sociological Review*, February 1936, pp 105-114

an effort to get the facts so as to acquaint their congregations with them. This means that three fourths of all the ministers replying have pledged themselves to the above actions.

Over 3,200, or 70 per cent, are willing to preach against lynching and agree to write their congressmen that they are in favor of a Federal anti-lynching law.

Over half, 2,400, favor government ownership of public utilities and basic industries, and will work through the press and the organization of public meetings to bring about this change. Almost as many, 2,271, will appear before regional or city labor boards to aid in securing the full rights of labor in the local situation. Over 2,100 agree to support the legal and ethical right of labor to strike, picket, and engage in mass demonstrations when the cause of the workers is just. Seventeen hundred and fifty-six are willing to circulate literature favorable to the cause of organized labor among the members of their congregation.

These findings are startling in their implications, but there is a vast difference between the number who *pledged* themselves to *act in the future* and those who have *actually taken* such action *in the past*. In contrast to the total of three fourths of the ministers who responded that they intended to support social insurance, the Child Labor Amendment, freedom of speech, and the investigation of labor disputes, only from 6 to 12 per cent *had actually done so*. Only 7 per cent had worked for government ownership. Apparently most of these ministers hold radical ideals but their intentions in this social realm have not yet been translated into action.

While the vast majority of ministers declare that in the future they will get the facts in cases of industrial disputes, and almost half will support the legal and ethical right of labor to strike, picket, and engage in mass demonstrations, comparatively few will join the picket line, or offer their churches or synagogues for strike meetings. Almost half affirm that they will encourage strikers by attending their meetings, and more than a third by providing them with

food, clothing, fuel, and other basic necessities required to sustain a strike.

In contrast to these pledges of intention, what the ministers are *now doing* in the field of social action largely conforms to the *status quo*. The largest percentage of action is in the form of pulpit preaching, forums, discussions, institutes, and acts of charity. Only 2.9 per cent have taken fundamental action dealing with unemployment, and only 5.2 per cent have taken outstanding social action.

One half the ministers declare they will persist in action for justice in economic and industrial relations even if this means jeopardizing their position. This means that among the religious leaders of the United States there is a substantial array who profess to be willing to pay a price for their convictions although the shrinkage would undoubtedly be large if this price were actually demanded. Of the 4,700 reporting, 313 or 6.6 per cent declare that social action already taken has cost them heavily. This proportion probably more nearly represents the small minority who have the courage of their convictions.

It must be remembered that the totals given here are for the ministers who responded. They do not necessarily represent the group that did not reply.

On the whole, therefore, this study of the religious and economic order shows the adaptation both of the religious institution and of the religious leader to the prevailing pattern of economic behavior. The religious leader is peculiarly susceptible to social-pressure groups. Traditionally he is supposed to have the unanimous support of his membership and to some extent of the community. If any powerful and respected group in the social order opposes him, it is commonly accepted that there must be something wrong with him. This is held to be true whether or not he has a majority of his own members behind him. As a result of this generally accepted viewpoint, if an American Legion group or the Chamber of Commerce or even the D.A.R., for instance, opposes a minister his posi-

tion is precarious. If community support is thus weakened, his economic base of support is weakened and his prestige with his own membership is impaired. In such a case his own supporters are apt to feel that for the sake of the church unity and the effectiveness of his religious work in the community, he should probably go elsewhere. Because of this general feeling that the minister should be a pastoral shepherd, not a fighter for social justice, the minister hesitates to take action which will cause community conflict.

Naturally in these circumstances the majority of the clergy play safe and do little outside of talk. Over against this tendency is the fact that the ethical ideals of Christianity seem to be at variance with a considerable part of the folkways and practices of the economic order. This causes a tension in the minds of some religious leaders. Frequently a small minority of religious leaders resolve this conflict either through taking a stand at variance with the beliefs of the majority or in some type of radical action. To be successful they need the active support of a social-pressure group.

If the analysis that we have made is in any measure correct, it would seem that religious leaders and religious members who desire to apply their religion in social reconstruction are so few in number that they should probably join together in an interfaith body composed of all those who desire to unite in the application of ethical ideals to the social situation. There are now in the field a number of such organizations, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Religion and Labor Foundation, and among the Protestant group the Federal Council of Churches. It is not within the scope of this paper to analyze the behavior pattern of these organizations.

GERMANY'S NEW SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE MAKING

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In the New Germany dating from the assumption of the chancellorship by Adolph Hitler, new institutions have come into existence which should be of great interest to sociologists. Two of these the *Volkswohlfahrt* and the *Arbeitsfront* are of special importance. The first of these is concerned with the women and children of the Reich. Undernourished, broken-down, and tired women and children are given vacations in the country where they can receive good air, light, and plenty of good food which it is hoped, along with rest and recreation, will restore them to good health. The second of these, the *Arbeitsfront* (labor front), because of its educational activities, should be of special interest to the educational sociologist. It is the purpose of this paper to give some particulars about this institution.¹

The Deutsche Arbeitsfront was brought into being as a substitute for the German labor unions by the National Socialist party and is now an important part of its activities. The labor unions were dissolved by the Reich government. The reasons for the change from the old-type labor unions to the labor front are as follows: It was desired by the powers that be (1) to eliminate all class warfare, (2) to build up all Germans mentally and physically by making available to all of them certain benefits, and (3) to unite all Germans as they have never been before for future contingencies.

¹These were gathered by the author during a visit to Germany in the summer of 1935. Interviews were held with officials of the Deutsches Ausland Institute and the Arbeitsfront divisions of the cities of Stuttgart and Munich. Documents relating thereto were turned over to the author and these have been drawn on freely. Other interviews were held with officials of the Reich Kulturministerium, schools, and the University of Munich, and with business men in the cities of Essen, Köln, Stuttgart, and Munich. Thanks are due all these people for their kindness and the freedom with which they answered questions within the scope of their subjects.

Membership in the Arbeitsfront is open, with certain exceptions, to every one engaged in creative work and by that is meant any one engaged in a legitimate activity. As a matter of fact every one who is eligible is obliged to become a member. The exceptions are government employees, agriculturists, and certain professional groups who have organizations of their own to suit their particular needs. Recently the organization was reported to have 23,000,000 members and they accounted for 90 per cent of those eligible to join.

MEMBERSHIP DUES AS OF JULY 1, 1934

<i>Class</i>	<i>Monthly Earnings (in reichsmarks)</i>	<i>Monthly Dues (in reichsmarks)</i>
1	Certain special groups	.20
2	who either have no	.40
3	earnings or do not de-	.60
3a	sire advantages	2.60
	<i>up to</i>	
4	40	.60
5	60	.80
6	80	1.20
7	100	1.40
8	120	1.80
9	160	2.20
10	180	2.80
11	220	3.40
12	260	3.80
13	300	4.40
14	360	5.40
15	420	6
16	520	7.60
17	600	9
18	660	10
19	740	11
20	over 740	12
20a	free-will offering	20

The members of Arbeitsfront pay dues on a monthly basis accord-

ing to earnings as shown above. These dues are frequently collected by employers through a deduction from wages along with the other deductions made for taxes, insurance, etc. Because of the large membership a huge sum of money is raised and as a result the Arbeitsfront is able to offer to its members certain valuable services. During its first full year the following sums in dollars figured on an exchange rate of 40 cents were spent for them:²

	<i>(in reichsmarks)</i>	
Developing national morale	\$ 600,000	or 1,500,000
Improving German health	2,400,000	6,000,000
Developing joy and loyalty in work	3,200,000	8,000,000
For cultural education	3,540,000	8,800,000
Strength through joy (theater)	4,000,000	10,000,000
Strength through joy (travel)	4,000,000	10,000,000
Legal advice and services	4,800,000	12,000,000
Publications	7,200,000	18,000,000
Vocational education	8,400,000	21,000,000
Improving home life and ownership	12,000,000	30,000,000
Aid and assistance	30,000,000	75,000,000
	<hr/>	
Totals	\$80,140,000	200,300,000

As may be seen from the above list of expenditures these are nearly all for what we would regard as important benefits. The largest sum, that for aid and assistance in certain contingencies, covers payments to members out of employment, to those who are sick or meet with accidents, to provide for burial, and to help worthy young people to marry. The expenditures for cultural education are for the purpose of enabling members to make good use of their leisure time, while those for vocational education, more important in some respects than those for cultural education, are of great importance to educators. Through them any German who wishes to do so may almost anywhere in Germany receive an education in the commercial, industrial, or agricultural activity he may wish to enter

² *Rechenschafts-bericht, der Deutschen Arbeitsfront*, 1935, p. 3.

upon. Excellent courses and instruction are offered, and the whole system is being developed in such a systematic and forward-looking manner that leaders in all other educational systems may be obliged to study what is being done at some time or other.

The cultural education that is being offered consists of courses in the philosophy of the New Germany, economics, particularly of the New Germany, geology, astronomy, history, art, music, natural history, and foreign languages. During the summer semester of 1935 the Munich division of the Arbeitsfront offered more than forty courses nearly all of which were given in the University building and frequently by members of the University faculty.

By December 1934 the Arbeitsfront was giving in all Germany 14,350 vocational courses and the enrollment was reported to be 282,500 students. Since in February of the same year only 58,000 students were reported in attendance on such courses, it can be seen that vocational courses have a great attraction for the German people and that this educational work is growing rapidly.³ Further rapid growth may be expected since these courses and the organization is only now really getting under way.⁴

The expenditures for aid in home improvement and ownership is another interesting and, from the German viewpoint, an important development. German leaders wish to expand the population of Germany and at the same time they desire to have a strong, healthy, intelligent, self-sustaining, and happy people. Most German cities are old, cramped in space, and covered with old buildings; sometimes these are unsanitary and usually difficult to make comfortable and easy to live in. During the past five years German cities, either as a private or a municipal project, have been building homes on their outskirts for their increasing populations. Since 1933 this has been accentuated, and in many cases the development has been in the form of a settlement (*Siedlung*). Many one- and two-family

³ *Op cit*, p. 14.

⁴ See Louis Bader, "Commercial Education in Germany," *Journal of Business Education*, May and June 1936

houses are built on a specially selected and laid-out plot of ground provided with streets, sewers, parks, stores, schools, and churches. Each family is provided with a garden plot on which fruits and vegetables are grown.

In this way air, sunshine, and light are secured, leading to good health. In addition the home owner or renter has opportunity for a leisure-time activity and to supplement his income. Once the house is paid for and the owner finds himself out of employment he has a roof over his head and part of his food, thus making it possible to reduce, in those cases, out-of-work benefits. Earnings of German workmen are low and one has difficulty saving enough money to buy even one of these moderately priced houses. The National Socialist movement is a youth movement and they want to help young people to get along. Young people, through Arbeitsfront aid, are put into a position to become home owners.

In connection with this home development goes a home-improvement or decoration movement. Efforts are being made to teach people to make their homes more livable by means of art. Model homes are put on exhibition, and even large exhibitions for a whole city are held from time to time to show fine furniture and how homes should be furnished and decorated.

The most interesting expenditures, although not necessarily the most important, are those for *Kraft durch Freude*, or as it is translated "Strength through Enjoyment." These expenditures are those shown for theater and travel. What is done under these expenditures is as follows. Members in cities are offered theater tickets at very low rates, even as low as one mark for a good seat. The tickets may be bought at such low rates because they are the leftovers for any particular performance; *i.e.*, all seats not sold by a certain hour, regardless of location, are then sold to the members of Arbeitsfront who make application. Such an arrangement is easily possible in a country like Germany where most cities of any size boast of a good theater and opera house.

In addition to these cheap seats in city theaters both the theater and the opera are taken to the people. First-class performers are formed into traveling companies, completely equipped with the necessary scenery and other apparatus, that go from town to town and give performances at nominal prices.

The travel trip idea is one of the best developed activities of the Arbeitsfront. A book of 63 pages was issued by the organization in the spring of 1935 detailing fifty-six special trips available to its members. These trips were largely for the purpose of showing economic Germany to her citizens who work in the store, factories, and mines. Others are arranged which are purely vacation trips undertaken for pleasure. The trips cover tram, boat, or bus fares, lodging, simple meals including at least one hot meal a day, sight-seeing, and inspection of factories, mines, etc. The trips range from four to six days in length and the cost ranges between 18 and 30 reichsmarks or from \$7.20 to \$12, about \$2 a day. Employers, who also are members of the Arbeitsfront, and whether or not they like it, make it possible for their employees to take the trips. Some employers enter into the vacation idea so wholeheartedly that one of them, the makers of the Opel automobile, took 12,000 of their 15,000 employees on a two weeks' vacation trip during the month of August.

One acquaintance of the author took one of the vacation trips during the summer of 1934. He traveled from Munich to Hamburg, boarded an ocean liner for a six-day trip to Norway, and was returned to Munich all expenses paid for the large sum of 68 reichsmarks or \$17 on basis of old exchange. The trip was at the rate of \$2 a day.

The interesting thing about this organization and the reasons for the expenditures it makes, as stated by the Arbeitsfront, are:

1. Genuine national socialism desires to see leisure hours used to the fullest advantage and in a systematic way.
2. The masses of people should be catered to in their leisure time in an

organized way. This should cover sport, education, art, music, theater, and vacations in the country. The masses should have these to enjoy as well as the man of property.—“When every individual citizen participates in the good things of life, hatred and envy will no more reign supreme, and their place will be taken by happiness and gratitude.”¹⁰

3. The body cannot be restored by rest alone but must be provided with activities and mental food which replace the nervous substances used up.
4. The activities elevate the human personality and remove the inferiority complex which had been cultivated among working people by the doctrines of Marxism.
5. The idea that the enjoyment of these things depends on income and the higher education received by a few should not be permitted to continue.
6. All monotony and boredom should be eliminated.

These are all admirable reasons and probably are seriously considered as being applied to all Germans. Just how they apply to those who have lived for a long time in Germany but are not accepted, the Jew or political dissenters as examples, is not clear. The Jew is usually boycotted economically and socially, it must be said, not officially, and the political dissenter, if not too vocal, feels that the concentration camp stares him in the face. No matter how much physical comfort is offered and fine principles are stated for the Jew and the dissenter there is only misery and sooner or later the cost will have to be counted. That the shoe is already pinching is evident from the widely heralded speech of Dr. H. Schacht at Königsberg, in the latter part of August 1935, when he stated pretty plainly the financial cost as it had already been experienced; the Catholic church and some of the Protestant church clergy have already indicated what the cost may be to the freedom of the individual. Conceivably the cost may be worth it but the German people will have to consider it more deeply than they seem to have.

¹⁰ From a typewritten statement prepared for inquirers by the Reichsministerium für Volkserziehung und Propaganda

What is being done and the principles on which it is based suggest that the National Socialist movement is one that is headed in the direction of a more equal distribution of income. If the activities of the Arbeitsfront finally come to the full fruition now anticipated this will become more apparent.

The full scheme of the Arbeitsfront contemplates not only a wide extension of the activities listed above, the cost of which we would regard as a heavy tax on all its members, but it is proposed to erect in every city or district a building to be known as the "House of German Labor." These are to be beautiful structures architecturally, large enough, and so arranged that there will be room for games and club meetings, halls for sports, baths, stages for theatrical performances, dormitories, restrooms, and an open-air forum.

From their very nature and because of the numbers to be accommodated these will be costly projects. Some indication of the cost may already be gleaned from the elaborate National Socialist headquarters already built in Munchen, and the type of building already taken over by the Arbeitsfront largely for administrative work. These may be seen in any large German city, but more particularly Köln, for example. Many "houses of German labor" will need to be built according to the scheme. Presumably the money will have to come by way of a government or Arbeitsfront tax since Germany has difficulty borrowing funds.

In addition, the enjoyment of art for all Germans is to be encouraged and every effort is to be made to bring art in all its forms even to the people living in small villages. Similarly with sports; the body is to be fully developed as well as the mind. The one without the other is inconceivable in the German scheme. Art and the development of the mind along certain lines; sport and the opportunity to develop physically is to be brought to all Germans of high and low degree wherever situated.

The Siedlung or home-ownership development, although started before the National Socialist regime, is to be carried forward more

intensively than ever. During the past five years nearly 300,000 of the Siedlungen houses have been built and the tempo of construction increases.

Those directing the many activities of the National Socialist party believe Germany is only at the beginning of these social developments. The National Socialist movement seems to have become basically a movement of the masses. The common people, more especially the Protestant religious element and the young people, have embraced it with a full measure of religious fervor. The brown uniform worn so naively on all occasions; the thousands of marching Brown Shirts on Sundays and holidays; the flashing eye of the intelligent enthusiast, and the firm, proud step of the uniformed "Hitler" youth, both boys and girls, suggest to the observer religious fervor to the *n*th degree.

The leaders of this movement face the task of keeping the masses satisfied. That is Germany's problem today. The masses of people give every evidence of being awake to what they want. The National Socialist slogan is "Awake Germany." To what is not stated, but the Arbeitsfront is showing to what, and the mass of German people seem to be awakening with a vengeance to the need of the good things of life as represented by a higher standard of living. It would seem that the present regime must continue and even extend the program outlined above; this will call for ever greater expenditures. Since these must come from present production the movement is and must continue to be one of a more equal distribution of income. When there is a full realization of this will it be permitted to continue?

A PROBLEM IN AMERICANIZATION

HELEN E. LAIRD

High School, Butte, Montana

Two decades ago a group of pioneering stock of Italians settled in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains four miles east of an enterprising western mining city which we will call Fitchburg. Virgin land surrounded the neighborhood on three sides. The mountains towered on the fourth. The men worked in the mines. Within a few years School District No. 4, comprising Fitchburg and suburbs, erected a small school house. Later on a Catholic church was built.

Socially, educationally, and religiously these Italians were self-sufficient. They retained almost entirely the cultural pattern of their native land. The family was a very strong unit; the father earned the daily bread and the mother devoted herself to the rearing of a family. The sewing was done in the home. Meats were cured and a variety of sausages made. They also made their own wines. Because these people established their own stores, it was not necessary for them to go "to town." Their community life was their social life. They preserved their language to an amazing degree. In fact, there are some men and women in the community today who speak no English. Their food was and remains largely Italian.

Soon a group of English miners, relatively small, settled about a mile to the south of the Italian community. These people, dependent on Fitchburg for almost all of their supplies, were very ready and anxious to take on the culture into which they had placed themselves. Soon they established an Episcopal church in their neighborhood.

Naturally the English felt quite superior to the Italians, who unknowingly fostered this feeling of superiority by their very subservience. The children were trained to regard the teacher as the personification of law and order to be obeyed implicitly. It was different with the English.

In 1913 the school burned. It was replaced by a modern twelve-

room structure designed to serve the needs of a growing community. The principal in charge from 1910 to 1915 had guided only the book-learning destiny of the children, apparently unaware that a community existed, except to speak slightly of "my Wops." There was absolutely no contact with either the English or the Italian culture. The English, of course, came to the school to inquire about the progress of their children. So in a measure the school belonged to them, though there were four Italians to one English or American child.

In 1915 Miss Green assumed the principalship. With civic pride and a progressive spirit, Miss Green, surrounded by a group of twelve young teachers who were anxious to try out some of the new things they had learned at normal school, began her work under very favorable conditions. She, herself, was fresh from a summer school at Berkeley, California. It is easy to see how the teachings of the normal schools and the University of California were reflected in the teaching and carrying on of the school program. The new ideas of freedom of thought and activity and the project methods, which were coming into vogue in the educational world, were all brought into play. If an Italian could sing an Italian song, he was praised for so doing and urged to learn more. If he could tell some story that he had learned of his parents' native land, his own in numerous cases, he was urged to do so. For the sand table and other projects the children were asked to bring materials from home. This was a small beginning of bringing the home to the school. Neither the teachers nor principal realized what they were actually doing, as method and not social integration was uppermost in their minds.

As the Italian children had colorful voices and seemed eager to do artistic work with their hands, the teachers developed courses in music appreciation and handicraft. It became the custom of each graduating class to leave a framed work of art for some particular room. A library was built up from private sources.

Miss Green formed boys' and girls' clubs in the seventh and eighth

grades. Primarily social in purpose, the children also learned something of parliamentary law, citizenship, and how to assume responsibility. These clubs were superseded in 1928 by the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls.

The recess periods were utilized for folk dancing, directed recreation, and games suitable for the different age levels, the teachers always playing with the children. A definite change in the culture of the school was taking place. It was becoming a place where the child might talk about things other than his lessons. The "Wops" for the first time were playing with the English boys and girls, and learning to talk with them on their own level, even though at times in broken English. The Italians were taking home stories of teachers who could dance, run, play ball. The English child was taking home unheard-of Italian names.

School programs were planned in which Italians as well as English took part. The broken English of the Italians was no longer a barrier. Miss Green thought they needed participation. The programs were the stereotyped form in which each room was responsible for a number. Soon, however, these were changed to unified productions with each room responsible for a definite part: decorations, costumes, food, games, etc. Through participation the Italians began to lose some of their passivity. They were being recognized and consequently came to think of themselves as individuals. The parents were invited to these activities. The English came and were loyal supporters of the school and its program. But the Italians were reticent and slow to come. "We don't understand the language," they said. However, gradually a few and then relatively large numbers came, showing an interest in the subject matter and activities of the school.

At this point the school was again a social force in the community, really showing it how to live a fuller life. The English borrowed programs in whole or part for their church festivals. There seemed to be an understanding and good fellowship between the school and

the English and the school and the Italians. The teachers, always working as a group, evolved a course of study based on the State's and including after some explaining to the school board, manual training and cooking for seventh and eighth graders in another school which offered these courses. Other intergrating forces were awards of merit given by various service clubs and the athletic programs sponsored by the Y.M. C.A. As the games were played in Fitchburg, many of the boys who had never been to the city had a new experience. Again the Italians were entering a new life.

All of this occurred over a spread of seven or eight years. The enrollment had reached four hundred. What was the final result of this approach toward the "good life"? The English parents became dissatisfied. They did not want their children associating with "Wops." Were not the Italian children foreigners and, therefore, inferiors?

Miss Green had not felt the undercurrent and, consequently, had no solution to offer. The program had developed from an interest in methodology. Hence she failed to capitalize on what had become a social experiment of a high order except that in the eighth-grade civics classes it was explained that any person not born in this country was a foreigner until he had become a citizen through naturalization.

Let us now look to the community. The English and Italians alike were inviting the teachers into their homes. A spirit of rivalry developed; the breach was widening. Miss Green was a Catholic, so the English suspected partiality. The Italians up to 1919 had remained undisturbed and unassimilated nor had they adopted our pattern of social or political action.

With prohibition came a change in the status of these groups. The Italians were expert wine makers, and besides had cellars of imported liquors. They let it be known that they would serve ravioli dinners in their very humble dwellings for \$2.50 per plate including one bottle of wine. The preparation of these dinners was

really a community project. As labor was exchanged on the farms in the Middle West, so it was exchanged here. Since large numbers of "the better people" of the city patronized these dinners, it became necessary to establish commercial eating places. In 1930 there were ten, today only three.

With the rapid increase in the family income the Italians bought automobiles, better clothes, and electrical gadgets they had not known existed. Their children took dancing and music lessons.

"The people who served" became quite friendly with their city patrons, the wealthier of whom employed the Italian girls of the poorer families as domestics. This was the beginning of family disintegration. Economic solidarity was lost. The girls who earned their own money assumed a certain independence. There was a beginning of an integration with the city people.

The Italians looked elsewhere than to the community for their entertainment. Feeling themselves the economic equals of the English, they had a feeling of social equality, also. There were one or two intermarriages between the two groups of the second generation.

Because of his social heritage, the Italian was not politically conscious. Heretofore his thinking had been done for him, but now social patterns had changed. He came in contact with the law as he was violating it, both in regard to prohibition and gambling. Up to this time the Italian had not been naturalized; now this step appeared necessary. The citizenship training given in the school evidently failed to function in real life. How could the child reconcile the civic precepts of the school with the citizenship training of the community in which society aided, abetted, and condoned the violation of the law? Again the informal forces of education had a greater influence in shaping the cultural habits of the individual than the formal. The second generation was now aware of a very democratic political structure in which it began to take an active part.

Came the depression. The majority of English being steady workers retained their jobs, even though on part time. Relatively they suffered little. But the depression descended on the Italians almost like a cyclone. Trade fell off immediately. Many Italians were left without income. Those in the mines were laid off. Former miners had no chance of reemployment. A number of the girls working as domestics returned home. Real panic gripped the group.

Fitchburg, like many other communities, organized a Community Chest to which each wage earner contributed two per cent of his monthly salary for unemployment relief. The teachers, under Miss Green's leadership, organized to visit every home, securing data on economic status, number in family working, number of dependents, etc. As the teachers had already gained the confidence of the people, they were well received, only a few refusing to give information. As a result all relief requests in this community were approved by Miss Green before being acted upon at the Community Chest headquarters. Bundles of very good clothing were sent to the building to be distributed. Some of the English known to be good needlewomen made over these clothes in the building, measuring the children and making the clothes to fit. They were quite enthusiastic, especially after two or three articles were attractively finished, and despite their adverse attitude to the Italians the English women actually vied with each other, not only to make a garment fit, but, also, to make it individual. The child took home a garment he was proud to wear.

The school exerted a definite influence in the desire of more children to remain in school for a longer period as was evinced by the increasing number of children graduating from high school and going on to the university. Intermarrying, quite generally, in the third generation, shows a broader spirit of toleration both racially and religiously. The Italian has become a politically minded individual, those of the second generation becoming office holders.

The enrollment between 1926 and 1936 has decreased about 68

per cent. The teaching force has dropped from thirteen to five, including the principal. The school does not seem the vital influence that it once was. The community seems to have outgrown the school. Consolidation with one of the larger schools in the city, including transportation, now seems in order.

As I vision this community, it is slowly but surely disintegrating. No one has made an effort to maintain any social agencies or any political institutions. The settlement will always remain, but the community like the Arab who silently folded his tent has moved on and been absorbed in the democratic structure of the near-by American city.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE CULT OF FATHER DIVINE

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Beliefs, which are emotionalized concepts or attitudes toward a situation, play an important part in developing patterns of behavior in the individual and in the group. These attitudes contribute much as a method of social control. The purpose of this study is to reveal how the beliefs and dogmas set forth by the cult under the leadership and influence of Major Edward J. Divine, a Negro "Messiah" in New York's Harlem, affect the behavior of his followers. About 1929, Father Divine was first brought to the public attention, and since that time his flock is reported to have increased to between ten and twenty million. The congregation is composed of whites as well as blacks, many of whom are well educated.

Continuous worship goes on in the church and in the kingdoms, which are well equipped with sanitary dormitories maintained by Father Divine for his followers. The periods of worship reach their peak in the evening and on Sunday. As one enters the meeting places, he may hear a hymn being sung in fast tempo to the accompaniment of a "near-jazz" orchestra or he may hear one of the "saved" confessing his past sins and praising Father Divine, in a loud voice, for saving him. The services throughout are interspersed with turbulent shouts of "Father," "Father Divine is God," "I thank you, Father," and with clapping of hands and many shrieks and moans from various members of the congregation. Other believers who feel the desire to confess aloud stand and wait their turns. As one person finishes and before another begins, the entire group spiritedly sings the following chant:

I don't know why, I don't know why,
I don't know why you love me so
You put your arms around me and you took me in.

Such demonstrations go on even without the presence of Father Divine but when he enters the turmoil and excitement are greatly increased. Through such behavior the members of the group exhibit their belief in the powers of Father Divine.

As one inspects the interior of the place of worship of Father Divine's disciples, he may acquaint himself with some of the beliefs of these people by reading the large signs and slogans hanging on the walls. In the front of the room, in large glittering letters, are the words, "Father Divine is God." These oft-repeated words represent the fundamental belief of these followers, for they are profoundly convinced that the stocky little Negro is the real God. The conduct of these people can be clarified further by the description McKay gives of a parade he witnessed which reveals the true belief of these people in the Little Father.

The streets were massed with marching people, led by bands, shouting, singing, bearing banners proclaiming, "Father Divine is God," "God Almighty is Father Divine." Spectators jammed the pavements. Suddenly an airplane droned through the clouds and the people, looking up shouted: "God! God! There goes Father. Father Divine is God! The true and living God!"¹

Another large plaque reveals other major beliefs of this group. It reads:

Father Divine is the Living Tree of Life, Father,
Son, and Holy Ghost. We may take the words of
Father Divine, eat and drink and live forever.

This quotation represents the faulty application of the doctrine of the Tree of Life. These few lines represent the most detrimental and antisocial policies of the cult because they demand patterns of behavior which are against our present culture. The "angels" who move into the kingdoms must sever all family relations. Husbands, wives, and children are segregated according to the sexes. There is supposedly no reason for the married people to have sexual rela-

¹ Claude McKay, "There Goes God!" *The Nation*, February 6, 1935, p. 151

tionships since they believe that children are placed on this earth by the divine act of God. They, therefore, completely ignore and discard the biological laws of reproduction so far as bona fide family relationships are concerned. This dogma initiates a type of control and demands a type of behavior which is opposed to the laws of nature and the standards set up by society in general.

A good example of this belief in practice is shown in the recent case of Mrs. Mary C. Williams, a colored school teacher in the New York City school system, who, according to a local newspaper report, was recently dismissed because she did not voluntarily take two years off without pay when she knew a baby was coming. Mrs. Williams, a follower of Father Divine, contested her dismissal by the school board on the grounds that she really did not "have" the baby. She admitted that the child was hers but said that it was "a gift from God" and "an act of God" and contended that she, therefore, should not be subject to punishment.

Because of this impracticable theory, Father Divine keeps the sexes separated as much as possible. In their religious dancing—if it can be called dancing—the women dance with women and the men with men, while slyly glancing at the tabooed opposite sex. In demanding this form of conduct, Father Divine is breaking down the stable institutionalized family and consequently is contributing to deterioration of social control through the family.

Another of Father Divine's creeds is evident in the statement, "We may take the words of Father Divine, eat and drink and live forever." Father Divine does furnish an abundance of good food to his followers regardless of their ability to pay. More important, however, is the interpretation of the phrase "and live forever." Here is made evident the illogical conviction that Father Divine's disciples will live forever on earth, that they are immortal. This attitude was the basis of the conduct which, according to press reports, caused the death of three of the followers of Father Divine. The apartment house in which these three followers lived caught

fire. A truck driver who happened to be passing by attempted to rescue the three who were trapped on the second story. They spurned his pleas for them to leap the five feet into his truck with hysterical screams of "Peace! Peace! You will save us, Father. You are God, Father. Father Divine is God, God, God." The three were burned to death. Here, also, is manifested a type of control that brings forth behavior that is diametrically opposed to our innate urge for self-preservation.

This group adheres to another belief to the effect that the members should seek the aid of their Messiah in case of physical illness, instead of medical assistance. Presumably this practice is an outgrowth of their conviction that Father Divine is God and is therefore able to cure all ailments. This belief has been illustrated further in the very recent political platform of the Righteous Government Convention of Father Divine. A portion of the platform asks for new laws which would make the medical profession guarantee cures and require the doctors to be liable for all deaths in cases under their care. It also demands enactment of laws prohibiting vaccination and all kinds of compulsory medical examinations. It would seem that Divine might be able to aid the mental attitude and so "cure" those who have chronic difficulties of an imaginary sort, but assuredly his ability to treat and cure an acute attack of appendicitis is doubtful. Such a belief not only overthrows and denounces all of the knowledge of the medical profession but undoubtedly causes a behavior on the part of the followers that is detrimental to their personal health and welfare and conducive to the spread of contagious disease.

The often-repeated demand for equality and liberty—equality of races, equal rights, and religious liberty—is to be found by analyzing the statements on another good-sized placard. The origin of this doctrine might easily be traced to the Negro's consciousness of his status in the United States. However, Father Divine's followers demand, also, fair treatment for the Jews and all other racial groups.

In an interview with Claude McKay,² Father Divine said that he is willing to coöperate with the Communist party or any other group that is fighting for international peace and emancipation of the people throughout the world and against any form of segregation and racial discrimination. He maintained that what the Communists are *trying* to do he is actually doing by bringing people of different races and nations to live together and work in peace under his will. He has come to free every nation, every language, every tongue, and every people. He alone can give emancipation and liberty, for he is the victory. Here is made manifest a doctrine that potentially can exert considerable favorable influence over the behavior and attitudes of the members of the cult and result in a desirable form of social control.

One attitude of Father Divine—another of those which should exert favorable control over the group—is his encouragement of education. He is constantly impressing the members of his cult with the value of an education and encouraging them to take advantage of the educational facilities offered in Harlem. It is reported that the educational night classes in Harlem were the customary size in New York until Father Divine urged his followers to attend these classes. Immediately the enrollment increased. This increase has been attributed, at least in part, to the emphasis Father Divine has placed on education.

Father Divine's most recent adventure is his entrance into the political field. The first political platform of the International Righteous Government Convention of Father Divine was read to about five thousand representatives of this cult recently. There follow some of the planks taken from the platform which took almost one and one-half hours to read.

Abolition of all tariff schedules.

Legislation limiting profit on manufactured articles.

² Claude McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

Government operation of the financial institutions of the country.
Destruction of all counterfeit money, at the expense of those who first find out it is counterfeit. There must be no attempt to pass it on.
True followers of Father Divine must immediately and henceforth stop buying on the installment plan
Enactment of a law prohibiting vaccination and prohibiting all kinds of compulsory medical examinations.
Immediate return of all stolen goods, either by individuals or nations.
Immediate enactment of a law fixing the maximum fee which can be charged by a labor union for membership, and a law prohibiting labor unions from calling strikes unless they pay, during the strike, to all of their members, the full wage for which they are striking
The abolition of capital punishment.
All candidates, including the President, must be nominated directly by the people.
Immediate abandonment of the patronage system.
The enactment of laws requiring the government to take over all plants, factories, and tools whose owners refuse to use or to operate them at their full capacity.⁸

In order to achieve the objectives set forth in this platform, its proponents maintain that all the political power that they possess will be utilized. The group has set up offices in Harlem. They offer assistance to all aliens in making out their citizenship papers and encourage study in order to complete their citizenship. This is one means the group is using to establish their political movement and to increase their voting power. These votes were promised to President Roosevelt if he would adopt their platform, for they do not desire to start a new party.

This Righteous Government Organization also is using the radio in order to further its cause and to bring more people under the influence of the movement. Each Sunday night members of the organization present a radio program fostering righteous government. This one-hour performance includes singing by individuals and the group, speeches by various members of the sect, and finally

⁸ Quoted from *The New York Times*, January 13, 1936, p. 19

an emotionalized appeal from Father Divine. Various phases of the platform, especially the proposed reforms, are emphasized in these programs.

Many of the "planks" of the sect's platform are merely a restatement of the doctrines already expounded by Divine. His desire now, seemingly, is to get them enacted into law in order to force all of the community to conform. Particularly does he reiterate his demand for racial equality. In his attempt to gain racial equality, he favors the enactment of laws that would deprive newspapers and publications of the right to employ words which designate a difference in creeds, races, and conditions of people. He emphasizes his wish for internationalism by asking for the confiscation of all arms and requesting all of his followers to refuse to engage in armed combat for any cause whatsoever. It is difficult to predict the effect this policy might have in developing attitudes which would eventually change the behavior of the group. Certainly the attitude of racial and group equality is desirable if that attitude is completely and fully developed. How well this group will develop a rational and integrated attitude toward these factors remains to be seen.

Several phases of the labor problem have been introduced. The platform is partisan in that it supports the laborer, probably because most of the cult are in that group. Another plank concerns the licensing of employment agencies which would collect only from the employer. The platform also favors laws regulating the labor union in so far as fees are concerned and calling for the financial protection of the laborers who are called out on strike. It also recommends that the government take over plants, factories, and tools when the owners of such plants refuse to operate them at their full capacity. Fundamentally this measure is probably derived from the desire for steady and assured employment, although it might possibly be interpreted as an expression of a socialistic attitude. There are other demands that manifest this latter tendency.

The platform also asks for the outlawing of all kinds of compul-

sory insurance. Since laborers are usually in favor of employment insurance, the investigator can only interpret this action as a re-expression of the doctrine of everlasting life, for, obviously, individuals who are to live everlastingly on earth have no need for life insurance.

Without question, these doctrines and beliefs—many of which are theoretically unsound—have already fostered and will further develop attitudes which may produce behavior patterns which are undesirable for the welfare of the cult and for the rest of society.

Apparently the economic depression has contributed much to the growth of this sect. A hungry man is more open to conviction when he realizes that some agency—no matter how high-flown its platform—will care for his physical needs. Father Divine has offered good, wholesome food and clean shelter to every one—at low rates for those who can pay, without charge to those who are unable to do so. Thus, for the individual, the most urgent of the four wishes, the desire for security, is at least temporarily fulfilled. It seems, then, that at least part of the rapid growth can be attributed to the times.

Another probable cause of the success of Father Divine's cult lies in the fact that the individuals can participate in the service and do so in any manner they please—shout, sing, dance, and confess—with no restraint. *This form of service not only allows for participation in it, which fundamentally is very desirable for emotional and maladjusted individuals, but it also tends to use up their pent-up emotional energies. Many of these people are emotionally maladjusted and they seem to regain their balance by such religious practices. Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert say that "it (religion) serves to resolve the emotional strain of doubt and indecision for the individual in a crisis (and) . . . provides through action a channel for the release of the pent-up emotions of the members of society."*⁴

⁴J. L. Gillin, C. D. Dittmer, and R. J. Colbert, *Social Problems* (New York: The Century Company, 1932), p. 469.

Obviously, crowd excitement and action play a large part in the behavior of the followers of Father Divine, the leader probably encouraging emotional manifestations rather than attempting to restrain them. This seems more a lack of control of the behavior of the group. Seemingly, this is one way of strengthening the followers' belief in Father Divine's doctrines. Naturally, imitation and herd suggestion are active factors, especially with this action type of worshiper.

Confession is another practice of this group in their attempt to gain salvation. "A confessional," says McComas, "where one confesses aloud in the presence of an objective being, enables him to get some grip upon his moral nature"⁵ As used by this group, the confession is a public revelation of one's sins to the rest of the congregation as well as to Father Divine. These confessions go on even though Father Divine is not present. By this means an expression of some of the original urges is found. First, there is an attempt to satisfy the desire for recognition, and, second, to satisfy the desire for response, sympathy, or friendship. Thus do these practices offer another method of satisfying the fundamental wishes of the individuals in the group.

Another feature that might attract followers is the interest in the mysterious—or even the desire for new experiences. Father Divine enjoys veiling himself and his actions with mystery. This is particularly true concerning financial matters. The follower asks, "How does Father do it?" Then with little attempt to solve the question, he replies, "He must be divine." Also the very fact that they think he is divine and that they are allowed to associate with "God" and to see him in the flesh is a potent influence in developing the belief and in controlling the conduct of these persons. Of course, a primary relationship is necessary for effective social control. It is evident that one of the greatest influences in attracting followers to these beliefs

⁵ H. G. McComas, *The Psychology of Religious Sects* (New York: Fleming H. Revell and Company, 1912)

is the organization's ability to satisfy man's primitive desires and urges.

Some of the doctrines and beliefs that have a decided effect upon the behavior of the members of this group are desirable, but, on the other hand, many of them provoke a behavior that is extremely undesirable and detrimental to the members of the group as well as to society in general. Obviously, segregation of the sexes is contrary to all biological laws and acts as a powerful agent in weakening the structure of the family. The belief in everlasting life on earth and the practice of seeking Father Divine's ministrations instead of a practising physician are both undesirable.

The desirable practices partially balance the undesirable ones. The organization does provide a restraining effect upon persons of former criminal or morally loose character who come under its influence. Many persons have been aided and guided by Father Divine in regaining their self-respect and in developing a new attitude toward life. Many of these people have become self-supporting and respectable citizens once more. The program of the cult, in some phases, unquestionably develops attitudes that instigate beneficial behavior patterns.

Father Divine, with the aid of his followers, has done a great amount of charity work. He has provided food, shelter, and sympathy to many persons who otherwise might have starved or resorted to petty criminal offenses in order to obtain the necessities of life. Regardless of the source of the financial support—whether it is "divinely manifested" or donated by the members of the cult—no better use could be made of it.

The type of meetings in which Father Divine's followers participate admittedly provokes a peculiar type of control and behavior, but participation seems to fulfill some of their needs. The confessions and the physical and vocal demonstrations provide an unleashing of the pent-up emotions of these, for the most part, maladjusted and repressed people. However, carrying this type of

action too far may lead to pathological maladjustment and even insanity.

If this cult hopes to be of value to society in the future, they may find it necessary to dispense with or at least modify their faulty beliefs. If they do change some of these practices, the organization may lose its attractiveness to its members. Unquestionably, Father Divine and his followers can be of great service in the future to those individuals who come under their control by developing desirable and wholesome attitudes.

A CRITIQUE OF POOR COLLEGE LECTURING

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If a good conversationalist is sought after, a good lecturer is a hundred times more in demand; conversely, if a dull conversationalist annoys us, a monotonous lecturer drives us to distraction.

College lecturers have even more reason to wish for popularity than lay speakers. Not only do the college men win promotion and reward by their efforts, but they labor under the special handicap that they cannot get away from their audiences. Week after week throughout the academic year they must come back and talk to the same group. Novelty wears away and the welcome they receive is determined by their past performances.

So it is not surprising that a college lecturer should wish to do well. His happiness in the classroom environment is definitely conditioned by the quality of his work. But what can he do about it? Who will tell him what parts of his work are in the most serious need of improvement?

The present study was undertaken in answer to this question when a university lecturer came to the psychology department saying that he was anxious to improve his lecturing but did not know how to go about it. What directions could be given him?

"Lecture to a dictaphone," we told him, "and then listen to yourself."

"Yes," said he, "but what questions should I ask myself while I listen? I am so accustomed to the sound of my own voice and so familiar with my own thoughts that I might hear myself lecture and get nothing from it."

"We'll find out for you," we replied. "We will describe your case to an audience and ask them what annoyances they can recall from past lectures."

Then to approximately three hundred students we made this

statement: "We have heard of a lecturer who is anxious to improve his presentation. He will speak into a dictaphone and then listen to himself. What standards should he set up as he listens to and criticizes himself? Imagine for a moment that you have this man under your control. He must hear you. From your past experience with all the speakers you can remember, give him a little good advice and instruction. State questions he should keep in mind as he listens to his own argument. Such questions, for instance, as, 'Do you talk too fast?' 'Is your voice monotonous?' And what you will."

The students replied with some two, three, or four questions each. An example from one listener follows:

1. Does he speak as if it were a painful duty?
2. Does he talk directly to the class or act as if he were reciting a poem in an empty room?
3. Does he act animated or does he drone along like a stock-market quotation on the radio?
4. Does he seem to be talking intelligently or is he obviously following a printed outline that he is afraid to deviate from?

The questions given by the students have a wider scope than would be useful from the standpoint of the dictaphone practice alone, but for that very reason are all the more useful. A tabulation of all the questions we received follows. They have been changed enough only to make statements of the same thing uniform. Perhaps we could have combined and reduced them still more, but as the object was to give a lecturer an idea of the faults to guard himself from, we left the quotations rather full, thus giving, we hope, all the varied meanings intended by the students. The figure to the left of each question indicates the number of people who suggested that particular query and so gives a measure of its degree of undesirability. The questions, then, as presented by the students but classified somewhat by the author, follow:

REGARDING SUBJECT MATTER

10. Do you wander?
- 5 Do you stick to the subject?
- 5 Do you talk over the heads of the students?
3. Is your treatment too complicated?
3. Are you always talking of general theories, never specific?
2. Do you lecture too technically?
1. Is your subject matter poor?
1. Do you believe in making your explanations brief?
1. Do you lecture continually on the same thing?
- 1 Do you give constructive information or do you tend to confine your criticism to destructive ideas?
1. Do you sometimes fail to speak about the assigned lessons, allowing the class to wonder what it's all about?
1. Do you arouse curiosity about the next lecture?
1. Do you talk more about the subject matter than about yourself?
1. Are you original?
1. Do you understand the subject matter yourself?

CLARITY AND CONSTRUCTION

14. Does your lecture have unity and plan?
14. Is your emphasis on the correct or wrong part of the lecture?
8. Are you clear on the points discussed?
4. Do you connect your topics?
2. Do you make clear the chronological order?
2. Do your statements have clear antecedents?
1. Do you clear up each topic before attacking the next?
- 1 Are your phrases jumbled, incoherent?
1. Are notes to be taken down announced?
1. Do you repeat conclusions, if any?
1. Do you repeat too often?
1. Are you too slow in making headway in presentation?
- 1 Is the discussion of important topics too rapid?
- 1 Can your class keep the pace you set in covering the work?

ATTITUDE OF LECTURER

12. Are you enthusiastic?
12. Do you show an inferiority complex?

8. Do you have a feeling of superiority, swelled head?
8. Do you show force and vigor?
7. Do you talk hesitatingly, too many pauses?
7. Are you overearnest and overemphatic, too serious?
5. Do you speak with notes, as though reading?
4. Do you speak in a formal manner?
3. Do you speak directly to the class?
3. Are you friendly?
2. Are you interested in the subject?
2. Do you speak to the group as a whole or a selected few just in front of you?
2. Do you adapt yourself to your audience?
1. Are you so interested in the subject that you expect everybody else to be?
1. Do you act as though you wish the lecture were over?
1. Do you make yourself one of the class or a mere talking machine?
1. Do you feel at ease and make the class feel at ease?
1. Do you act as though you were very clever and your class very dumb?
1. Do you smile?
1. Is your appearance correct?
1. Is your bearing sloppy?
1. Do you have some dignity?
1. Do you look asleep?
1. Are you absent-minded?
1. Do you take yourself too seriously?
1. Are you in too much of a hurry?
1. Is your manner indifferent?

VOICE AND EXPRESSION

58. Is your voice monotonous?
28. Do you talk too fast?
23. Do you enunciate clearly?
16. Is your voice loud enough?
12. Is your voice too low?
8. Is your voice too loud?
7. Is your voice raspy, harsh?
4. Is your manner stuttering or uncertain?

- 4 Is the tone of your voice unpleasant?
- 3 Do you have vivacity of tone?
2. Is your voice shrill?
2. Do you lack articulation?
2. Do you control your voice?
- 2 Are there too many extremes in the pitch of your voice?
- 2 Do you fail to open your mouth in attempting to speak?
- 1 Is your voice weak?
1. Do you show emphasis with your voice?
- 1 Do you speak too slowly?
1. Do you speak through the side of your mouth or swallow your words?
1. Are your words too drawn out?
1. Do your words run into each other?
1. Do you have an ascending or descending inflection of voice?
- 1 Do you always emphasize the same part of every sentence?
1. Do you speak with feeling?
- 1 Do you speak continuously without a break?
1. Do you "hem" and "haw"?

VOCABULARY AND VARIETY

7. Is your pronunciation correct?
7. Do you use big words?
- 7 Do you slur difficult words?
5. Do you have a large vocabulary, variety, and can you find the right word?
2. Do you say "ah" and "ugh"?
1. Do you use flowery, literary language?
1. Do you repeat pet phrases?
1. Are your sentences too long?
1. Do you use many big words?
1. Are you wordy?
- 1 Does your vocabulary distract the listener from the subject?
- 1 Do you have relevancy in word power to situation or mood?
- 1 Are your lectures always started in the same humdrum manner, such as "The lecture today will be on "?
1. Are your lectures memorized or the result of a thorough knowledge of the subject?

ILLUSTRATIONS

23. Do you use good illustrations—in place?
4. Do you use new examples or stick close to the book?
3. Do you make statements of fact without illustration?
2. Are your lectures stereotyped and monotonous or do they offer an interesting story?
1. Are your examples clearly given; *i.e.*, their connection to the principle explained?
1. Can you write legibly on the blackboard?
1. Do you rehash the book?
1. Do you use blackboard illustrations?
1. Are your blackboard illustrations clear?
1. Do you keep illustrations up-to-date?
1. Do you bring in curious information and the odd?
1. Do your statements leave doubt or questions in the minds of your audience?
1. Do you ever relate any personal, outside experiences of your own?

NERVOUS HABITS

11. Is your body position correct, head erect, do you speak out, use gestures?
6. Are you nervous or shy?
6. Do you fiddle with objects, twirl your watch chain around your finger?
3. Do you move around during the lecture and thus keep the student's eye occupied? (Best to move around)
2. Are your actions such that interest follows them instead of the lecture?
1. Do you look out of the window for inspiration while lecturing?
1. Do you stand in one corner of the room?
1. Do you have disconcerting habits of walking about?
1. Do you walk up and down and so disturb the attention of the class?
1. Does your constant playing with chalk distract attention?
1. Have you irritating habits, do you look at your watch too often?
1. Do you have a mental handicap?

HUMOR

25. Do you use a little humor?

3. Are your jokes poor?
3. Are your attempts at humor painful?
1. Do you try to be too funny?

DISCIPLINE

4. Can you keep order?
2. Are you irritable at small noises?
1. Do you become impatient and sarcastic?
1. Have you noticed the temperature of the room?
1. Are you extremely stern in disciplining your classes, thus making the students feel like kindergartners?
1. Do you scold too frequently?
1. Do you sound irritable?
1. Are you fairly strict with the class?
1. Do you continually call down students for their lack of coöperation?
1. Do you lean toward favorites?
1. Are you too lenient?
1. Do you give too much "blarney"?

ATTITUDE ON QUESTIONS

5. Do you ever call for discussion?
5. Do you give an opening for questions?
2. Do you question and get reactions from the class?
2. Do you hesitate in answering questions?
2. Do you answer questions immediately or wait until the next class?
1. Do you allow any one person to ask too many questions?
1. Are you frank?
1. Do you try to answer a question when really you do not know the answer yourself?
1. Do you have an antagonistic attitude toward questions?
1. Do you refuse to explain points unless the whole class so asks?

A cursory reading of the above suggestions might lead a man to believe that the demands are unreasonable and that he is going to be damned whether he does or whether he does not. But a closer inspection will show differences of opinion only on certain matters

as to whether, for instance, a speaker moves about or stands still. On certain points there is an overwhelming petition for an agreed quality of output, such as good modulation in the speaking voice.

Below are the questions most frequently asked. If it is remembered that these requests come out of the past experience of the students and were not suggested more completely than in the directions for the project, *i.e.*, "Do you talk too fast?" "Is your voice monotonous?" it will be recognized that there is considerable importance in them. The points mentioned must have been thorns in many a lecture. A short list of what might be called the most important factors, with the number of listeners mentioning them, would read as follows:

- 58. Is your voice monotonous?
- 25. Do you use a little humor?
- 23. Do you talk too fast?
- 23. Do you enunciate clearly?
- 23. Do you use good illustrations—in place?
- 16. Is your voice loud enough?
- 14. Does your lecture have unity and plan?
- 14. Is your emphasis on the correct or wrong part of the lecture?
- 12. Are you enthusiastic?
- 12. Do you show an inferiority complex?
- 11. Is your body position correct, head erect, do you speak out, use gestures?

It is worth noting that the average listener is more interested in hearing a pleasant voice emanate from an individual with a friendly attitude than he is in hearing some one who understands the subject matter about which he is talking. Or so it would seem from the questions. Perhaps mastery of subject matter is taken for granted or perhaps the college audience does not feel itself qualified to judge. Maybe the most irritating offenses are perpetrated by a sing-song voice.

The request for good illustrations is worth a comment from the standpoint of another study made by the author. In examining the

methods of study of successful students, it was found that illustrations came in for a special emphasis. Students reported that illustrations have a much higher memory value than principles; that, in fact, they often remembered a principle by connecting it in their mind with the illustration used to explain it. This places a responsibility on the lecturer to make his illustrations really pertinent. If the illustration is interesting but not adequately related to anything, a valuable teaching opportunity is lost. For instance, a speaker will sometimes give a long illustration which supports an argument upholding an hypothesis. When he gets done it may be so difficult to place it in the scheme of things that within the student's memory the illustration floats in a firmament of arguments and theories without belonging very definitely anywhere.

In general, the comments of the students are self-explanatory. The number of students who mentioned each item might be said to give an index of undesirability for that item. Any one interested in improving his lecturing can find suggestions here to keep him busy for a long time, or he can, at least, if he wants to, interest all of his audience all of the time.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

A group of sociologists representing all the various interests of the subject and each one a member of the American Sociological Society met at the Hotel Morrison in Chicago on May 9, 1936, and organized the Sociological Research Association.

Membership in this Association is by invitation only, and a limit of one hundred members is set. To quote from the constitution: "Eligibility for membership in the Association shall be restricted to persons possessing the degree of doctor of philosophy or its equivalent, who have made a significant contribution to sociological research other than in a doctoral dissertation, and who are maintaining an active interest in the advancement of sociological knowledge."

The governing body is an executive committee of five. This committee includes the president and secretary-treasurer. Membership on this committee is for a term of five years. The newly elected executive committee consists of F. Stuart Chapin, Donald Young, Robert M. MacIver, Stuart A. Rice, and E. B. Reuter. The order of presidential succession will be from the first named to the last named and thence to the senior member of the committee each year.

The object of the Association is the advancement of the science of sociology.

A STUDY OF THE HUMAN ASPECTS OF THE CURRENT RURAL SITUATION, COVERING ESPECIALLY THE YEARS 1932 TO 1935

This new research project is to be under the joint auspices of Columbia University and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. The study is an attempt to observe

and record the greatly changing social situation in rural America and the corresponding effect on the current rural situation as it relates to:

- 1 Population shifts
2. The youth of rural America
3. Industry
4. Adult education
5. Schools
6. Trade
- 7 Religious and social organizations
- 8 Government
- 9 Unemployment
- 10 "Radicalism"

Mr. Edmund de S Brunner, collaborator of the study, proposes to base it on a hasty resurvey of one hundred and forty agricultural villages studied under his direction for the Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1920-1921, 1924-1925, and in 1930. This great mass of data will form the background of the present study and show in the light of the present investigation what changes have taken place in the rural situation.

RESEARCH IN URBANISM

The Research Committee on Urbanism of the National Resources Committee has issued an Interim Report

The Report contains (1) a brief statement concerning the emergence of urban problems, (2) an analysis of the trends in the reporting of urban information by Federal agencies, (3) the conclusions and recommendations of the Research Committee on Urbanism pertaining to such reporting, and (4) as appendices, a suggested topical outline of subjects to be covered under an adequate program of reporting urban affairs and a suggested minimum schedule of data not now available required for an adequate study of certain major urban problems.

The Report deals with the emergence of urban problems and their relation to the depression as well as consideration of the metropolitan region. It reaches conclusions and makes recommendations on the present deficiencies in urban information; gives suggestions for expanding the scope of urban inquiry; and makes recommendations for coordinating urban recording. Trends in urban statistics are considered especially in the fields of population, government, crime, welfare and health agen-

cies, education, recreation, communication, voluntary organizations, religious life, economic data, and reporting by Federal and private agencies.

CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

The annual bulletin on Criminological Research, edited by Thorsten Sellin of the University of Pennsylvania, which has been published under the auspices of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York City, for the past several years, has been continued as a department in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. The latest issue appeared in the September-October 1936 number.

The bulletin lists research projects under the following headings:

- I. General
- II. Criminal Statistics
- III. Causation
- IV. Police Organization and Administration
- V. Law Procedure and the Administration of Justice
- VI. Penal Treatment (which includes institutional treatment, probation and parole, and the effectiveness of treatment)

Projects are listed and reports are given on projects described in former issues of the bulletin.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American State and Higher Education, by ALEXANDER BRODY.
Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education and the
Social Science Research Council, 1935, vii + 251 pages.

This is an analysis of the relation of the State to higher education in the United States. The author has availed himself of all the significant material germane to his study, historical, educational, legal, and political. The historian will find this volume indispensable for a future history of higher education in this country. To the lawyer, it offers an authoritative statement of the legal status of institutions for higher education. Of interest to the student of educational administration is the presentation of the pattern of administrative control of education. The student of public administration will welcome this volume as a contribution to his literature.

Without delving at length into many interesting themes which this volume presents, it will suffice to point out one, namely, the problem of educational autonomy, *i. e.*, the area of administrative independence of State institutions for higher education. Herein is contained a paradox. A public educational institution is an agency of the State, and yet because of its peculiar functions it must be free from political control. What is to be the line of demarcation between the political and educational functions of the State? Perhaps this paradox is inherent in a democracy. The American people have long experienced the problem of placing beyond the reach of their own political representatives those interests deemed of special protection.

Home and Family, by HELEN MOUGEY JORDAN, M. LOUISA ZILLER,
AND JOHN FRANKLIN BROWN. New York: The Macmillan Com-
pany, 1935, 426 pages.

This book presents in terms understandable to high-school students the factors that enter into the making of a home. It has been planned for the use of boys as well as of girls because the authors have assumed that the family consists of at least two persons, one of them being a man.

The "major activities and relationships which a rational home and family life involve" have been set forth singly, and methods of dealing with each problem have been discussed.

The topics are as follows: the material home, the successful family,

management; child development; the family as an institution; the family as a personal problem.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol. II. A Century of Predominately Industrial Society, 1830-1935*, by CARLTON H. H. HAYES. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Psychology of Adjustment*, by L. F. SHAFFER. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Psychology of Sex*, by HAVELOCK ELLIS. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.
- Readings in Psychology*, edited by CHARLES E. SKINNER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.
- Sex Technique in Marriage*, by ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.
- Testing Children's Development from Birth to School Age*, by CHARLOTTE BUEHLER AND HILDEGARD HETZER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.
- Theory of Social Work*, by FRANK J. BRUNO. New York: D. C. Heath and Company.
- War: No Profit, No Glory, No Need*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.
- Wealth and Culture*, by E. C. LINDEMAN. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.
- What Veblen Taught*, edited by WESLEY C. MITCHELL. New York: Viking Press.
- Woman's Best Years*, by W. BERAN WOLFE. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.
- World at Work*, by A. CLETUS ANDERSON, PAUL IRVINE, AND HENRY CLIFTON PANNELL. Auburn, Alabama: Prather Publishing Company.
- Handbook of Statistical Monographs, Tables and Formulas*, by JACK W. DUNLAP AND ALBERT K. KURTZ. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.
- Ideal School*, by B. B. BOGOSLOVSKY. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Liberty vs. Equality*, by WILLIAM F. RUSSELL. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Meaning of Right and Wrong*, by RICHARD C. CABOT. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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EDITORIAL

The March 1936 issue of THE JOURNAL was devoted to a summary of the activities of selected school systems and professional educational organizations in building a wholesome nationalism and the inculcation of international understanding. At that time it was pointed out that the school was but one of the many agencies seeking to develop such attitudes and that a future number would be given to the activities and programs of nonschool agencies and organizations.

The material for this issue has been selected and prepared on three basic premises: that attitudes are the outgrowth of the total environment of the child, not the product of any single agency; that as far as possible there should be an element of consistency running through this entire environment, and that increasing co-operation of all of the agencies which touch the life of the child is essential. This is as true in the development of attitudes of nationalism and internationalism as in those that are more obvious.

A chauvinistic patriotism can never be a sound foundation upon which to build sympathetic world understanding. Likewise, a too ardent internationalism which ignores the subtle but deep-seated loyalties to state and country defeats its own purpose. Out of the tangled and tensely emotionalized woof of seemingly conflicting loyalties must be found a middle ground. The all too frequent sense of antagonism—an "either or" attitude—must be eradicated and in its place must be developed a firm conviction that each

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ideal is a complement of the other; that nationalism implies a recognition of each state's responsibility in the family of nations; and that internationalism can become a reality only as it ensures the autonomy of each of its members.

That this ideal is not wholly achieved is abundantly evidenced in the following articles. That organizations do not agree in even apparently fundamental concepts of method is equally apparent. However, through all the varying approaches to the problem there runs one common purpose, the maintenance of the peace.

The major difficulty in the planning of this number was in the choice of organizations and the necessity of space limitation. Each of the three agencies summarized in the first article might well have been extended to include the entire issue. The discussion of method might have been extended almost indefinitely. Likewise, it has been necessary to select only a few of the literally hundreds of organizations that are carrying on significant work in this field. The many nonschool agencies dealing exclusively with children and the youth organizations have been intentionally omitted as a later issue will deal with "Youth in a Modern World." The organizations included were chosen to present a wide range of areas of service and to indicate something at least of the careful thought and conscientious effort that is being expended in the development of attitudes of nationalism and internationalism.

MEDIA OF PROPAGANDA

FRANCIS J. BROWN

New York University

Few words in our entire vocabulary are as difficult of definition as the oft-banded phrases "nationalism" and "internationalism." In popular usage the former varies from loyalty to the cultural heritage without reference to geographic boundaries such as the nationalism of the Jews, to loyalty to a political state which may include a polyglot of peoples as in the United States, Yugoslavia, or the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. To some, nationalism is a sacred ideal which weaves a halo about the time-honored instruments of government and should be the conscious objective of all the agencies of education, to others it is considered as narrow patriotism, even chauvinism, and must invariably lead to the altar of Mars.

Likewise, internationalism is conceived by some to be the highest ideal of mankind wherein national boundaries will become decreasingly important except for purposes of internal government. Others think of internationalism as an agency for collective security with complete autonomy guaranteed to each nation. Still others conceive it as but the fallacious dream of a visionary and detrimental to human welfare. To both the first and last group the two concepts are antithetical, the first advocating internationalism, the last nationalism. To the middle group they are complementary and must be developed simultaneously, each a continual check on the other.

While both terms have specific material manifestations—the vast but now ironical League of Nations building at Geneva, the Covenant, the International Labor Office, and the Court of International Justice, the Constitution, the pledge of allegiance, and the flag—basically they represent only ideologies. It is this fact which results in the confusion indicated above, and makes them the direct

product of the sum total of the experience of the individual. As an artifact of the mind they become emotionalized and are directed by irrational motives rather than the intellect. Their exterior symbols become elements for divine worship or agencies upon which is to be poured the last drop from the vial of jealousy and hatred. A flag becomes holier than a human life and a symbol greater than that for which it stands, while the youth of a nation are but marionettes, dancing to their death.

Why then seek to analyze the agencies through which nationalism and internationalism are developed? The answer is implied in the above statement: the ideology is the direct product of the total environmental experience of the individual. An analysis of the agencies carrying forward a planned program for the directing of this experience will shed some light on the nature of the ideology of the succeeding generation. The three media for the control of experience which reaches the largest audience are the press, the radio, and the motion picture. Their influence is based not alone upon their numerical importance but is enhanced because of the fact that the individual is in a receptive state of mind and, since the learnings are indirect, the material is accepted, for the most part, uncritically.

THE PRESS

It is a far cry from the little newsletter published in Boston in 1704 to the modern daily of thirty to sixty pages printed, collated, folded, and laid down in endless procession ready to be sped by truck, train, and airplane to the corner newsstands and distant hamlets. The daily circulation in the United States is estimated at approximately thirty-six million. Here is a tremendous medium for the development of attitudes and the molding of public opinion. Its influence is measured not by the avowedly propagandist section of the paper or those published primarily to present a single point of view, but rather by the indirect effects through the rela-

tive importance given to the various news items, the size and wording of headlines, and the choice of pictures.

An even cursory analysis of the daily press is abundant testimony of its influence in developing attitudes of nationalism—even a war mania. A large metropolitan daily devoted a fourth of its front page to a picture of the Italian bombing air armada; the rotogravure of another paper gave an entire section to pictures of massed men, tanks, and battleships, and of the twelve headlines on today's front page of even the more conservative *New York Times* four are of a character to fan the rising flame of war: "Czechs Resent Nazi Gibe at Bolshevist Outpost"; "France is Strong, Blum Warns Foes"; "Eden Warns Hitler Britain Will Fight to Guard Belgium"; "Roosevelt Pledges Peace, but Warns Aggressors."

Of course it may be stated that the present emphasis is but the accurate recording of events, but with equal pertinence the question may well be asked if it is ever possible to record events impartially. Four factors tend to bear out this implication: the interlocking of international news agencies so factually demonstrated by O. W. Riegel in his book *Mobilizing for Chaos*; the abbreviated transmission of news and its necessary elaboration by local editors; and the fact, clearly stated by Ivy Lee,¹ that "The effort to state an absolute fact is simply an attempt to achieve what is humanly impossible, all I can do is to give you my interpretation of the facts."

A significant illustration of the latter is presented by Davis:²

The Epworth League of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Evanston held a meeting to discuss "The German Youth Movement" at which a conscientious objector who had served time in Leavenworth during the war was one of the speakers. At the conclusion of the meeting an American Legion member made a reply but there was no riot or revolutionary remarks. The next day the Chicago press carried the fol-

¹ Quoted by Doob, L. W., *Propaganda* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), page 335.

² Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and Its Culture* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 311.

lowing headlines, "Hiss Flag in Evanston Church," "Pacifist Gibes at U. S. Cause Wild Sabbath Service Scene," "Near Riot as Allison Talks at Evanston," "War Heroes Booed." In this case, as in many others, the bias of nationalism came in to warp the real facts. In everything having to do with international relations this is a constant source of trouble.

The fourth factor is much less tangible, yet it undoubtedly affects the recording of the news; that is, the continual desire on the part of its readers for the sensational. There is little of dramatic quality in peace; war stirs the blood and fires the imagination. Internationalism is an abstract concept, and even its objective manifestations are too far removed to arouse the enthusiasm of the average reader. Nationalism, however, arouses a dominant sense of loyalty; its material objects—the flag, the national anthem, a mighty battle-ship—have instant appeal. Is it surprising that the press continually appeals to these irrational factors and even enhances them?

This discussion should not be left wholly on this more negative note. A very significant attempt on the part of newspapermen to interpret public opinion to its readers are the conferences of leading authorities called by the *New York Herald Tribune* to discuss world problems. *The New York Times* prepares a very attractive set of monthly summaries: News Trends and two News Highlights, one on National Affairs, the other on International Relations. These are but two of many similar special services rendered by the press in this field.

In the short space of this article it is impossible to do more than recognize the important influence of the more than four thousand individual magazines with a total circulation in excess of thirty-three million, or of the flood of new books published annually (5,809 in 1934). The last quarterly bibliography of "Recent Books on International Relations" published by *Foreign Affairs* lists 180 titles published within the past year of which 113 are in English.

It is probable that the influence of both magazines and books in the development of attitudes of nationalism and international-

ism is very much less than that of the newspaper. The reason lies partly in the fact that they are less frequent visual stimuli, as the average individual seldom spends as much time reading magazines and books as he does with his daily paper. The difference in composition is another factor, as the headlines and lead paragraphs are more pungent than the context of magazines and books. The most important difference, however, is the selectivity of one's reading in the latter and the lack of such selection in the former. The majority of the articles and books in this field are written with the distinct purpose of propaganda. This being true the reader selects his material more often to find justification for his opinion rather than to challenge it. If it does not conform to his accepted beliefs he tends to appraise it critically not on its merits but on the extent of its agreement with what he accepts. The rest is frequently discarded. Again, this is irrational behavior, but of such is the woof and web of our sense of loyalty to nationalistic ideals.

THE RADIO

In the short span of fifteen years the power of the radio has grown from an uncertain, clackling voice coming in through uncomfortable headphones from a near-by station to a smooth-flowing voice entering 27,000,000 homes from stations from the far corners of the earth and even from the stratosphere and the bed of the ocean. In 1934 the broadcasts of one national chain included 137 programs originating in foreign countries. Today any schoolboy may switch his miniature twenty-dollar radio to short wave and pick up London, Melbourne, or Tokyo!

What a tremendous force for the development of international understanding. The most fantastic dreamer of a Utopia could not have conceived a more potent agency. Only a few years ago such an enthusiast stated that "The radio industry in America has played a major role, not only in the development of a national consciousness in our own people, but also in the cosmopolitan

consciousness of the world at large. More than all the peace conferences in history, it has served to make the concept of 'Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men' a reality, and, taking the world by the hand, has led it one big step farther down that shadowy trail that ends in Utopia."

O. W. Riegel in the reference previously cited replies to the above statement from a realistic point of view as he writes,

The trail is shadowy indeed, and the direction is certainly downward. Instead of bringing Utopian cosmopolitanism, it is much more likely that the radio will accentuate narrow nationalistic differences. There is, unfortunately, no statistical data on the amount of nationalistic propaganda which is broadcast from the stations of the world, but sufficient is known of general conditions to warrant the assertion that the underlying motive of most radio broadcasting is the inculcation of national patriotism. From an international point of view, the seizure and exploitation of radio to fortify the patchwork of nationalism has created a modern Babel. International broadcasting is perceived as a weapon of propaganda, and betrays an absence of international consciousness.

While it is true, certainly, that the above statement applies more specifically to foreign than to American broadcasting, the fact that a single Sunday afternoon address teeming with nationalistic assertions could have brought such a flood of telegrams and letters of protest as to be a significant factor in the defeat of our ratification of the Protocols of the World Court is abundant testimony of its potentiality for the development of a policy of isolation at a time when the world was still grasping for some form of collective security.

THE MOTION PICTURE

The third medium of propaganda for nationalism or internationalism is the motion picture. Like the newspaper and the radio its potentiality is enhanced by the uncritical attitude of the observer. That it does affect attitudes has been objectively demonstrated in the Payne Fund studies of motion pictures partially summarized in

the November issue of THE JOURNAL and published in twelve volumes by Macmillan.⁹

Perhaps no agency of education is so filled with contradiction as the motion-picture industry. While it produces such powerful anti-war dramas as *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *Things to Come*, it also casts such war-hero characterizations as *Pride of the Marines* and *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. It cries out against mob hysteria in *Fury* and inflames mob emotions through flag-waving cadets in *Shipmates Forever* and *Annapolis Farewell*. It shows beautiful shorts of other peoples and other lands and yet traditionally portrays certain nationals or races as hatchetmen, thieves, and outcasts. It presents a newsreel of a peace dinner and permits General Mitchell to declare in his opening sentence, "Our next war will come with an Asiatic power—Japan."

The most sensitive nerve of the industry originates in the box office. If the average citizen pays to see the motion-picture corporation utilize army and navy personnel and American battleships in the production of seventeen films exclusive of shorts and newsreels, we shall continue to have the glorification of militant nationalism and war preparedness propaganda. However, if the receipts in the box office demonstrate that such films do not pay dividends they will speedily be discontinued.

The potentiality of each of the above media of propaganda is almost limitless. If nationalism and internationalism are but ideologies created by the sum total of the experience of the individual, then there must be increasing concern for the type of experience portrayed through press, radio, and photoplay. Hovering fearfully on the abyss of suicidal war, we tolerate if we do not encourage the flagrant portrayal of ardent militant propaganda. Paying huge sums

⁹ See especially R. C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, and M. A. May and F. Shuttleworth, *Relationship of Motion Pictures to the Character and Attitudes of Children*.

¹ For an excellent analysis of peace and war propaganda write for free copies of *Bulletin on Current Films*, published by the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

for propagandist organizations for peace we applaud the waving flag and the marching of men. Fostering movements for international understanding we are frightened into the largest preparedness program in peace-time history.

Constantly torn between conflicting loyalties, between rational and irrational factors, will we permit ourselves to drift or will we stir ourselves to take note of the fact that such agencies of propaganda are subject to the organized expression of public opinion?

UNITY OF PURPOSE; DIVERSITY OF METHOD

ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

American Association of University Women

Education to develop international attitudes, whether it involves young people or adults, is part of the tendency of the centuries since the Renaissance to regard all human problems as capable of solution by educational methods. The discovery that man could control and direct physical forces on a large scale led to the conclusion that social forces might also be controlled and directed. Social forces being nothing more or less than the behavior of human beings, efforts to alter human behavior in one aspect of life after another are constantly being made. The invention of new methods of communication have heightened these efforts. This process has been going on long enough to demonstrate that the theory that social forces can be controlled by conscious effort is valid. It has still to be demonstrated, however, whether intellectual and rational methods or nonrational, emotional appeals are more effective in the long run. There is something of both in the educational work being done today to mold international attitudes.

Strictly speaking, education to develop international attitudes is not synonymous with peace education. It is possible to know all about international relations and to understand other peoples, and still to consider that war is the only way of acting in certain international situations. It is also possible to know and care very little about other peoples and about international organization, and still to be a confirmed pacifist. For the most part, the international educational work that is being carried on in this country among adults is being done by organizations primarily interested in international peace, and, conversely, most peace organizations consider educational processes the surest way to attain their end. Consequently, while we remember always that there may be a difference between "international-mindedness" and "peace-mindedness" we shall dis-

cuss the educational work actually being done in this field, in the terms of the peace movement.

The greatest impulse that the peace movement has ever had was the World War, and although there were peace societies and pacifists before 1914 we can date the beginning of a widespread effort to develop public opinion for peace to the moment when the concept of a "war to end war" was adopted. The failure of the United States to join the League of Nations may even have brought about a more intensive and more distinctively "educational" campaign than there would have been if the support of collective international action to maintain peace had become the official policy of the nation.

The immediate postwar period saw the founding of a number of new organizations to carry on various types of peace activity and the enlargement of the program of old organizations to make room for work in this field. The final article in this issue briefly summarizes their activities.

A distinctive feature of the American peace movement is the extent to which organizations formed originally for other purposes have set up departments to work for peace, using various names but having substantially the same end. Women's organizations and religious groups are the principal societies working in this way. Naturally, they differ in the extent to which the national body takes responsibility for this part of the program. Some of them maintain staff members at their national headquarters, whose principal work it is to guide the international educational work of the local groups. In others a voluntary committee makes general recommendations as to emphases and as to sources of study material, but local initiative determines what is actually done. The membership in these organizations is overlapping to some extent, but not enough to make it unnecessary for each body to carry on a program in the international field, particularly since the needs, interests, and preparation of the bulk of the members does vary

from one organization to another. However, as shown in the last article, coöperation in certain aspects of their work has been found essential by these organizations.

With so many groups working from almost as many different angles toward the common end of maintaining international peace, there is bound to be great variety in method. Many organizations are using several different methods at once, however, so that we shall not attempt to catalogue methods according to the organizations using them. Also, we must rule out of the discussion projects whose purpose is immediate influence upon governmental action, even though their educational value is sometimes the only compensation for their failure in obtaining concrete results. For example, the Peace in Party Platforms Project of the National Peace Conference early this year was undoubtedly of great importance in drawing attention to issues of foreign policy in our national political contests, but the immediate effects, in terms of political planks, were negligible. Perhaps the most accurate way to distinguish educational from political effort is to say that political activity has an immediate, specific end, while educational work seeks to establish a reservoir of public sentiment which will automatically be drawn upon when foreign-policy issues are decided.

Methods of education for international understanding differ little, if at all, from techniques for disseminating knowledge and molding attitudes in other fields of public affairs. A greater effort has to be made to develop realistic concepts of international situations, because they are likely to be far away from the experience of the individual citizen, and his potential influence over the course of international events is not always apparent. That may be one reason why a greater effort is actually made to educate citizens about international problems than about any other single aspect of government. It may be for this reason, also, that there is constant experimentation with methods and materials, with a noticeable trend toward emphasizing the graphic and dramatic

Aside from visual devices, such as posters, motion pictures, exhibits, and pictured statistics, educational techniques fall into the general classifications of absorption, dramatization, and self-activity. Lectures belong largely to the category of gaining knowledge and attitudes by absorption. Where audiences are already well informed, or where lectures are given in a well-rounded series, this method has the advantage of disseminating new information and new interpretations in a way that saves time and energy. Also, a particularly challenging lecturer will stimulate the desire for new knowledge. It must be recognized, however, that many lectures are given to poorly prepared audiences that have developed a habit of passive listening. The custom of confining an audience's reactions to questions following the address is indicative of this passive attitude—except for the few brave souls who have their own ideas on the subject and find the question period a good place to air them, carefully using the introductory device, "Isn't it true that . . .?" The worst result of the desultory lecture system is the creation of a class of lecture-listeners who are sure they know all about international problems because so-and-so said such-and-such. Awareness of this difficulty has led to the development of modifications of platform-audience relationships, such as the forum, which is widely used by the town halls in which Commissioner Studebaker is interested. Here, questions are asked of the speaker by experts, and are so designed as to bring out the fundamental issues and differences of opinion.

The forum method goes over partly into dramatization techniques. Dramatic presentation of international questions sometimes appears in the form of model meetings of various bodies that deal with these problems. The League of Nations Association, for example, has popularized Model Assemblies of the League of Nations and Model Council Meetings. Other groups, on their own, have set up model presentations of conflicts over such problems as Manchukuo and Ethiopia. Sometimes the model session is used to

demonstrate procedures, but it is also frequently used to make more vivid the clash of opinions and feelings.

The panel method is a more sophisticated way of dramatizing controversy. It is a refinement and elaboration of the old-fashioned debate. The most effective panel presentation is the one in which the participants carry on before the audience a real give-and-take discussion under the guidance of a leader who keeps the issues clear and summarizes the points. Sometimes a panel discussion takes the form of a symposium, or series of brief speeches, each presenting a different point of view. It is more difficult for an audience to follow than the group discussion, but much easier for the participants. In either form much depends upon the chairman, since without signposts the total effect is confusion, for an audience does not know much about the subject to begin with. The dramatization of conflicting opinion, while it commands attention and enlarges participation, sometimes leaves in members of the audience a feeling of hopelessness over the prospect of ever reaching anything like a conclusion about public issues. Like the lecture method, it needs to be used judiciously and is most effective when the audience is well prepared.

In the last analysis, there is no substitute for mental effort in acquiring an understanding of international problems, any more than there is in learning about physics or biology. Individuals may, and frequently do, pursue courses of study for the purpose of being better informed and more broad-minded about international questions, but group study offers advantages for the person who finds it difficult to find his way through the intricacies of a new field of knowledge, or who lacks the initiative to keep going on such a project, just on his own steam.

The usual study groups on international subjects are sometimes criticized on the grounds that they tend to emphasize contemplation to the detriment of action. During a short period the criticism may be true, because the first effect of intensive study of any sub-

ject is a despair of ever reaching any conclusion about it. At least one organization has carried on an international educational program long enough, however, to have learned that the local groups which have done the best and most fundamental studying have, for the most part, carried on the most distinctive projects in their communities, and are the most to be relied upon when there is need for action. It is quite true, however, that many people cannot get interested in a study program that seems to have no issues in action, and so techniques have been worked out to combine study with a purposeful formation of opinion—the Marathon Round Tables of the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War being a good example of this technique. Here the program is planned for a series of meetings on a concrete subject like “The Evolving Foreign Policy of the United States.” Lesson sheets are sent out with brief outlines and with questions that involve the formulation of opinion. In giving answers an attempt is made to reach the “common mind.” A record is kept of the agreements and disagreements reached after discussion, and summarized at the end of the course. To make the Marathon Round Tables more truly vehicles of expressing opinion, State round tables are held, with representatives from a number of groups, and the results of their discussions are sent to the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War where they play some part in the shaping of the recommendations adopted for future work.

Carrying on a program of international education requires not only stimulation of interest and devising of techniques, but also the provision of guidance materials. There is complaint from the field that literature is difficult to obtain or, if obtainable, it is so voluminous and diffused as to make it impossible for an individual who cannot devote all his time to the subject to find his way about and get the essential facts. Consequently, efforts to provide materials lie mainly in two directions: the statement of the most important facts in an easily understandable form, and the outlining of

ways to use a mass of miscellaneous literature in order to get at facts. Thus, there is published a large amount of literature in pamphlet form by most of the organizations in the peace movement. Pamphlets have the advantage of being inexpensive and easy to obtain, and recently the custom of preparing sets of pamphlets on different subjects has grown up. Thus, the Marathon Round Tables are supplied with kits containing study outlines and pamphlets, and the National League of Women Voters got out a kit of pamphlets and copies of important documents for the study of neutrality legislation. The present tendency is toward simplification of study guides and source material, a trend which serves a useful purpose at the moment because people can be reached in this way.

In the rush to fill up the gaps in the knowledge and understanding of international problems of generations educated almost entirely before the end of the World War there has not been much opportunity to consider some of the more general standards of world citizenship. Is it most important that large numbers of people should be won to the attitude that the only safety of the world lies in the preservation of international peace? Is it more vital that they should come to support certain concrete measures whose aim is to maintain peace? Should their education concern itself less with the concepts of international affairs than with creating mental flexibility and a spirit of tolerance? Or should the education of the citizen of the world lie in all these directions at once? By the time any sort of answer can be given to these questions the generation now in school will probably have come to adulthood, with some preparation to act on issues of foreign policy. If the work in the schools is well done, the present intensive work with adults will eventually be extinguished, but for the time being it is one of the most challenging tasks of the day to demonstrate the ability of man to save himself from one of his worst enemies—the habit of going to war over controversies between nations.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM THROUGH THE CHURCHES

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE PROMOTION OF PEACE ATTITUDES

E. B. SWEENEY

Catholic Association for International Peace

"Peace to this household" was the salutation bidden by the Founder of the Catholic Church to be given by His Apostles in their spread of the Gospel throughout the world. To diffuse the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount; to develop and expose through the teaching church as a whole the principles of the moral law which determine the rights and duties of human societies; to establish the canon law, crystallizing these principles for the direction alike of rulers and subjects, clergy and laity; to furnish spiritual sanctions which reinforce obedience to the law and to the law of charity—these were and are the great contributions of the Catholic Church to the peace and order of mankind.

That these contributions have been made by the authorities of the Church down through the centuries is evident from the historical records found in such works as *The Catholic Church and Peace Efforts*, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*, *The Peace Activities of the Church During the Last Three Hundred Years*, and the numerous other writings of eminent scholars. From the very nature of its origin, the Church has been and must be one of unifying and pacifying all peoples, and both its tradition and historical documents are proof of this consistency.

The pages of Church history are filled with accounts of papal arbitrations in the settlement of international and national disputes. The works of Suárez, the Jesuit, and Vitoria, the Dominican, as well as the ecclesiastical authors of numerous treaties of peace during and following the Middle Ages are familiar to all historians. The long and successful endeavors to suppress feudal warfare in western Europe by "The Peace of God" and "The Truce of God"

need no description. The constant peace efforts of many of the popes from the earliest times down through the Middle Ages and on down to our own day are not new to historians and persons concerned with international problems. These sovereign pontiffs have not hesitated to lay down the principles of world relations as well as the lines upon which solutions of social, industrial, and economic questions should be answered in the existing condition of human society.

Throughout the history of the Church the pacific function of the pope presupposed the coöperation of his brother bishops and the clergy. From at least the seventeenth century onward the papal appeals for peace in view of a widespread war or danger of war have for the most part been addressed to the bishops. Benedict XV was ceaselessly enjoining the episcopate on both sides in the Great War to pray and labor for peace. And Pius XI's pronouncement upon disarmament and the economic crisis takes the form of an Apostolic Letter to the bishops of the Catholic world, stirring them to action. The same Pontiff in his Christmas address to the cardinals in 1930 defines thus the pacifying function of the Catholic Church as a whole "The glory and the duty of this apostolate of peace belongs principally to us and to all those who are called to be the Ministers of the God of peace; but here is also a vast and magnificent field of action for the whole of the Catholic laity whom we do not cease to invite and to call to participate in this Apostolate of the Hierarchy."

The press, the pulpit, and the lecture platform today are indicative of the mission of the Catholic Church in carrying on its efforts for world peace and closer union among the peoples of the different nations. In today's newspapers (December 1, 1936), we read the pastoral letter of His Eminence Santiago Luis Cardinal Copello, Archbishop of Buenos Aires and Primate of Argentina, urging daily prayers for the success of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace at Buenos Aires. It says, in part:

The Church, whose mission is specially spiritual and whose goal is to achieve peace between God and man, cannot refrain from collaborating in the search for the solution of the problem of international peace. The Church is essentially pacific itself and a messenger of peace among the nations. Peace is the greatest good that can come to man. As Christians and as Argentines following our glorious tradition of peace, we must all work for peace. Therefore, beloved children, we seek your collaboration in support of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, that God may give light to the delegates of all the American States who are to discuss in our city the best methods of maintaining peace. Let us pray for them that their work may be a blessing to the world.

In these days when men are hard put to find a source wherein justice, the moral law, and fair impartiality might reign for the settlement of international differences, many see in the papacy an institution which might very effectively render such service to mankind. Dr. James Brown Scott, president of the American Society of International Law, said in his presidential address before that body, in 1933: "Protestant though I be, I look forward to the State of the Vatican, barely large enough for the Pontifical throne—an imponderable State—rendering services in the future even greater than the Papacy in the past, because it has neither army nor navy nor territory. It only has a conscience and law under the control of a moral and spiritual conception." H. G. Wells, in his *Outline of History*, says: "Sooner or later the world must come to one universal peace, unless our race is to be destroyed by the increasing power of its own destructive inventions: and that universal peace must needs take the form of a government, that is to say, a law-sustaining organization, in the best sense of the word religious; a government ruling men through the educated coordination of their minds in a common conception of human history and human destiny. The papacy we must now recognize as the first clearly conscious attempt to provide such a government in the world."

In many countries, including Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia,

France, Germany, England, Ireland, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, the United States, and many of the Latin American Republics, there are important Catholic groups devoting their efforts to the development of world peace. In some of these countries there are four or five organizations promoting this work. The aim of these groups is not only to work for material peace, but to bring about internal order and peace without which there can be no true external peace. The necessity of the support of peace activities by individual Catholics and the value of a close coöperation and interchange of ideas among these organizations to strengthen and encourage the efforts of all are obvious particularly at the present time.

The Catholic Association for International Peace in the United States, with headquarters in Washington, D C., grew out of a series of meetings during 1926-1927, following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, when representatives of a dozen nations met with Americans for discussion. It came into existence to help American public opinion, and particularly Catholics, in the task of ascertaining more fully the facts of international life and of deciding more accurately what ought to be done that the relations between nations may become just, charitable, and peaceful. Being an association of Americans, it directs itself in a special manner to the international relations of the United States.

The aims of the association are: to study, disseminate, and apply the principles of natural laws and Christian charity to international problems of the day; to consider the moral and legal aspects of any action which may be proposed or advocated in the international sphere; to examine and consider issues which bear upon international good will; to encourage the formation of conferences, lectures, and study circles; to issue reports on questions of international importance; to further, in cooperation with similar Catholic organizations in other countries, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the object and purposes of world peace and happi-

ness. The ultimate purpose is to promote, in conformity with the mind of the Church, "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

The association, through its various committees, prepares studies on world questions. Twenty-five reports and eight miscellaneous pamphlets have already been issued. Many of these have supplementary National Catholic Welfare Conference study outlines for use in colleges and lay groups. Besides this activity and the holding of annual, regional, and student conferences, it promotes international study clubs in Catholic colleges, seminaries, and lay organizations; it prepares and distributes special data, bibliographies, news releases, syllabi, study outlines, etc., on international problems; it translates and distributes foreign works on world subjects, it furthers annual peace programs in Catholic colleges, seminaries, and Newman Clubs; it serves as a guide to and extends the program of the Student Peace Federations, now organized into six regional groups; it coöperates with Catholic peace groups abroad and with some in this country; it invites all Catholics interested to participate in its program; and it aspires in various other ways to be of service to individuals and groups in their work of furthering "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

JEWISH EFFORTS FOR INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL

LOUIS MINSKY

National Conference of Jews and Christians News Service

It is a curious fact that the Jews are wholly without special groups for the promotion of internationalism. This may seem surprising in view of the fact that the Jews are innately internationalists, in the highest sense of that term. The ideal of peace occupies a major place in the Jewish religion and this ideal has been reinforced by the experiences of Jews throughout the ages. The vicissitudes of Jewry have bound it together into a world religious

fellowship, which more nearly approximates the brotherhood idea than the practices of any other religious group. Hence the wide concern of western Jewries over the situation of the Jews in Germany and other European countries and the fact that the harsh treatment of a Jew, let us say, in Berlin is deeply felt by a Jew in London, Johannesburg, or New York.

This ideal of the brotherhood of man has taught Jews the infinite worth of human personality. It has convinced the Jew of the madness of international strife, of the folly of nationalism and national isolation and has imbued him with the conception of the world as an interrelated fellowship of human beings. It has not, however, lessened the Jew's love for his own country but has rather spurred in him the desire to work for peace, justice, and prosperity within his own nation in order that this may hasten similar conditions among all nations.

There is also, however, an external factor which has intensified the intrinsic internationalism of the Jews. The various waves of anti-Jewish persecution throughout history have taught them the bitter lesson that anti-Semitic movements are nearly always a concomitant of nationalistic hysterias. In other words, their safety as a group is inextricably bound up with the progress of internationalism and peace. For, among other things, the Jew has become the scapegoat of warrior nations. The Great War was followed by a wave of anti-Jewish persecution which was especially intense in Germany and other countries of the Central Powers which held the Jews responsible for the loss of the war. In some of the victorious nations anti-Semitic movements were fomented from other pretexts. In this case the Jews were held responsible for the aftermaths of the war, especially for the rise of the Communist movement which followed in its wake.

Of late a new and more urgent reason—apart from the critical international situation itself—has arisen to make more necessary than ever the efforts of Jews in the direction of securing basic solu-

tions to international problems. This reason is the growing conviction that the solution of the Jewish question cannot be separated from the solution of the economic question. In Poland, for example, the alleviation of the miserable plight of three and a half million Jews is inseparably tied to the betterment of the lot of the landless and starving peasants and the improvement of Poland's economic situation in general. So far as Germany is concerned, it is conceded by informed Jews that the only hope for a change in the Jewish situation lies either in the overthrow of the Nazi regime, on the one hand, or in a marked improvement in the internal economic situation, on the other. In a word, redress of the economic grievances of nations and the establishment of something more in the nature of brotherhood among the nations, leading to an interplay of economic forces for the good of each, has an important bearing upon a far-reaching solution to the Jewish question.

Upon this background we find Jews trying to change international attitudes in two ways. One way is through identification with general movements of a nonsectarian nature striving for peace and international good will. In such movements Jews play an active part. But the chief vehicles for the promotion of international attitudes are the Jewish religious and related bodies. International good will is a subject that is given major attention by the social justice and peace bodies of the rabbinical associations, chief of which are the Central Conference of American Rabbis, representing the reform rabbinate, and the Rabbinical Assembly of America, representing the conservative rabbinate.

Of these two bodies, the Central Conference is more concerned directly with the promotion of peace and international good will. It supports a special Committee on International Peace, whose exclusive task is to propagandize and agitate for peace, principally by educational methods. As an example of such methods, the Committee has arranged for forty-two of the leading reform rabbis of

the country to visit reform congregations throughout the United States this year and interpret the Jewish historical attitude and experiences affecting war and peace in the interest of arousing the Jewish laity to an awareness of these issues.

The Committee on International Peace also expresses publicly its conviction on current and crucial issues facing the nation in the hope of affecting public opinion and legislation in the direction of peace. It also educates within its own group in an effort to move the Central Conference of American Rabbis and those whom it influences to renounce war. This is done principally through its annual report, which is submitted to the convention of the Central Conference. This report embodies suggestions for special programs the Committee might undertake, a review of the current international scene, and, last, resolutions committing the Central Conference to certain specific proposals looking toward the outlawing of war and the furthering of peace.

For example, the 1936 report recommends the following activities: the establishment of an annual institute of Jewish organizations and individuals interested in peace for the purpose of studying, formulating, expressing, and applying Jewish attitudes toward war and peace; the influencing of the peace attitudes of children in reform religious schools by a careful examination in terms of peace education of all present and contemplated religious school material as well as cooperation with other reform Jewish bodies in the preparation of curricula, programs, books, tracts, debates, plays, etc., designed to inculcate peace attitudes; assisting individual congregations with the preparation of year-round peace programs and stimulating peace action among the laymen generally.

In regard to the contemporary scene, the report presented the following resolutions, which were adopted. commended the administration for the "good-neighbor" policy in the Americas; expressed approval of the reciprocal trade agreements and urged their broader extension, advocated the extension of neutrality legis-

lation to include the prohibition of the sale of raw materials to belligerents, advocated the nationalization of the munitions industry and the adoption of any additional measures necessary to take the profits out of war; expressed its opposition to all encroachments on the liberties of American citizens on the ground that curtailment of civil liberties helps usher in the military spirit; opposed compulsory military training in educational institutions; denounced the present vast armaments appropriations of our government and other governments as unnecessary and evil and demanded that our national defense policy be based on defense of our soil, not of our interests abroad; advocated the extension of the "good-neighbor" policy to Japan through mutual reductions in armaments and revision of the "open-door" policy to the Far East; also requested our government to assume the leadership in summoning a conference for world disarmament.

This in essence is also the peace program adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly of America. The difference is that the formulation of peace attitudes in this body is the task of its Social Justice Committee as part of a general pronouncement on social justice.

In other words, the task of creating proper attitudes looking toward peace is preeminently that of the Jewish rabbinate operating through its representative bodies. This work, however, is also carried on by the federations of synagogues which formulate teaching attitudes in religious schools. In the case of the reform groups, a Commission on Education, sponsored jointly by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, gives special attention to such problems as peace and social justice. On the specific subject of peace the Commission has published several books, such as *The Jewish Peace Book* by Dr. Abraham Cronbach and also selected from it a collection of peace stories for Jewish children. A mimeographed folder on peace programs is also supplied. In general, however, the educational policy is to make the development of attitudes a part of the entire

educational process and in the preparation of textbooks for children, young people, and adults the idea of developing international attitudes is borne in mind. A similar method is observed by the United Synagogue of America, the federation of conservative synagogues.

Outside of the synagogue proper we find an influential group extremely active in the work of peace and international relations. These are the Jewish women's organizations, chiefly the National Council of Jewish Women and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

The work of the National Council in this respect may be divided into three parts: first, study groups on peace are conducted in most of the sections; second, one general meeting a year, usually in November, has for its entire program the subject of peace. An outstanding peace speaker is asked to address the section; on occasion a peace play is presented and at other times peace symposia and panels are included; third, a brief report of the salient current facts about international relations is presented at each general meeting held once a month.

The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods is likewise concerned with educational processes. It issues a pamphlet intermittently from October to May called "Peace News Flashes" which details current developments in the struggle for peace. It also sponsors other peace publications, the latest being a series of five entitled "The Jew Looks at War and Peace" by Roland Gittelsohn. This series is sent out to sisterhoods for use as program or study material. Books on peace are also published periodically, the newest one being *The Quest for Peace* by Dr. Abraham Cronbach. All this activity is undertaken by the National Committee on Peace. At the executive board meeting of the Federation last year, it was decided to increase the scope of the work of the peace committee to include education in problems of social justice on the ground that peace work goes far deeper than mere cessation of war.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES

ROSWELL P. BARNES

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

By all the implications of its gospel and theory Christianity is a universal religion. Distinctions of nationality, race, and language are irrelevant to the Christian interpretation of man's destiny. But these distinctions constitute barriers in the modern world, dividing the human family into groups which frequently become involved in tragic conflict. The church itself has often forgotten its universality and become nationalistic, and even within nations it has been divided into sects. Its provincialism, contradicting its own theory, has often accentuated the difficulties of intercourse. It must overcome its own divisiveness if it is to make its most effective contribution to the building of a harmonious world community.

The churches are aware of this responsibility and are making considerable progress in meeting it. The ecumenical movement for world-wide coordination of Christian enterprises has been taken seriously during recent years. The Universal Christian Council is promoting this movement. In July 1937, it is holding a great world conference at Oxford, England, for a united discussion of the problems of the modern world, including war. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches has been binding the national church bodies together in the service of peace. In various countries the churches are cooperating for work which they share in common, in our country through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which has a Department of International Justice and Goodwill.

The fact remains that, in spite of institutional divisions, the Christian Church believes in the essential unity of the human race. It recognizes, therefore, its responsibility to develop the psychological basis upon which the groups into which the race is divided may live together in harmony. If groups of the human family are

to live together in peace there must be mutual respect among nations, races, and cultures rather than suspicion, fear, condescension, or contempt. War-provoking jingoistic nationalism must be supplanted by a patriotism of peace.

The behavior of the nations tomorrow is being in part determined in the minds of the children of today. Realizing this fact, the churches are devoting a great deal of attention to developing friendliness among children across national and racial lines. They are trying to achieve this result by the teaching of general principles in the printed curriculum materials and by the project method.

Numerous studies of the content of church school lessons have been made during recent years. One by Dr. Forrest L. Knapp at Yale reveals that the early Old Testament stories which tend to give divine sanction to the militaristic episodes of early Hebrew history are either not being used at all or are being used in such a way as to show their proper relation to the teachings of the later prophets and the spirit of the New Testament. War as such is not glorified, rather it is presented as an evil. International justice and good will are shown as the ideals for which Christians strive.

The world enterprise of the church is so presented to children and youth as to discourage attitudes of superiority or condescension toward other nations and races. The missionary education literature interprets the cultural achievements of other peoples in such a way as to develop an appreciation of their contribution to the world's welfare. Our relation to them becomes then one of sharing the best we have with them. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches distributes World Friendship Lessons for use with small children, each lesson being devoted to the contribution of one race or nation. The Peace Section of the American Friends' Service Committee, the National Council for Prevention of War, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom all supply such material, in addition to that which is distributed by the educational agencies of the various denomina-

tions. The Missionary Education Movement has built up a wide circulation of its books and study courses for all ages.

But the greatest progress has been made in the field of the project method. Outstanding has been the work of the Committee on World Friendship Among Children, promoting reciprocity in friendly activities among children of different lands; 12,739 dolls were dressed in America, given farewell parties, and sent to Japan as messengers of friendship, carrying letters. They were greeted with ceremonial receptions in Tokyo and other cities, exhibited in department stores and schools, and then distributed to the children. Some of them were placed in the Doll Palace in the Imperial Education Museum, Tokyo, which was presented by H. I. M., the Empress of Japan as a permanent home for the American dolls; 2,610,000 Japanese school girls subscribed to a fund to send an embassy of forty-eight beautifully dressed and equipped dolls in return. Upon their arrival in America they toured the country in state, were given a reception at City Hall in New York, and Miss Japan finally went into permanent residence in the National Museum in Washington. Similar projects have sent school bags to Mexico, treasure chests to the Philippines, and scrapbooks to China. Thousands of children are sending postcards to children abroad.

Right in our own communities there are representatives of other nationalities with whom our children can be friends. Church schools exchange parties with these groups. The Daily Vacation Church Schools have provided the best opportunity for the promotion of such projects. A recent book by Imogene McPherson, "Educating Children for Peace," describes a number of projects that have been worked out in such schools. Puppet shows, plays, pageants, festivals of folk song and dance, international parties, exhibits showing international interdependence, essay contests, peace parades, and many other projects are being widely used.

Closely related to the development of international attitudes is the development of interracial attitudes. The church, in its program

of education, realizes the folly of talking about friendship with people of other lands if it disregards prejudice against Chinese, or Italians, or Jews in our own communities.

The peace and war issue becomes more clearly defined for youth in high school and college. The churches have been in the front ranks of those who have been opposing military training under the War Department in high schools and compulsory enrollment in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in colleges. Fifteen Protestant organizations or leaders appeared at, or prepared statements for, the Senate Committee hearings on the Nye-Kvale bill in Washington last June, supporting this move to abolish the compulsory feature of military training from our civil colleges.

The Christian Youth Council of North America, recently set up under the auspices of the International Council of Religious Education, is promoting an aggressive program of Youth Action in Building a Warless World. This is reaching out into the youth groups in churches and Christian associations across the country.

The church as a whole has thrown its influence on the side of such national policies as tend to alleviate fear or suspicion and to build friendship and confidence with other nations. The pulpit, the religious press, and the national denominational agencies, have sought to rally the rank and file of the membership for peace and justice. Some denominations have special commissions supplying educational material on international affairs. They are not as adequately staffed or financed as they should be; but their influence reaches down into the local church through various channels. Many local congregations have peace committees.

The churches have supported the government in every step for strengthening the will and the means to international coöperation. They have urged our country to join the World Court. They have stood resolutely for arbitration and the limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement. They have opposed the Japanese Exclusion Act and other national behavior which is irri-

tating to our neighbors, such as naval maneuvers in Far Eastern waters. (Of course when we speak of "the churches" we have in mind the dominant influences and the statements of national assemblies, and must remember that there are exceptions that do not subscribe to these generally accepted views.)

It is difficult to make any accurate estimate of the effectiveness of the churches' program for developing enlightened international attitudes. If it is compared with what it should be, its failures are immediately apparent. But if church people are compared with the citizenship as a whole, there are indications that real progress has been made. When there is a community meeting for the discussion of world problems the churches usually provide the bulk of the attendance. If there is a movement to counteract irresponsible jingoism, it is usually clear where the church leadership stands. At the hearings on the Nye-Kvale bill mentioned above there was not a single representative of a religious organization appearing against the bill, but there were fifteen witnesses for it. In youth groups working for peace the leadership is predominantly from the churches. The Emergency Peace Campaign directors report that in many communities they could find no sponsorship for their campaign except through the initiative of the churches.

Those who have been setting the standards of educational principle and procedure for the churches have had good academic training and are professionally competent. Lobingier's *Projects in World-Friendship* and *Educating for Peace*, Albert John Murphy's *Education for World-Mindedness*, and Bruno Lasker's *Race Attitudes in Children* are widely used among religious educators, and many are familiar with the works of Bogardus and F. H. Allport. The educational leadership of the churches has outgrown sentimentalism and easy optimism.

The conscience of the churches has repudiated war and turned to peace. Our task now is to lead the churches to behavior which will be consistent with their conscience.

THE ROLE OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN FOSTERING ATTITUDES OF NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

SPENCER MILLER, JR.

Workers Education Bureau of America

The problem of the day's work is the one outstanding problem in all lands.

—JAMES T. SHOTWELL

What is the contribution of labor organizations in fostering attitudes of nationalism and internationalism? No adequate answer to this fundamental question can be made without understanding something of the nature of the labor movement, the basic principles upon which it rests, and the various manifestations of its policy and program in different countries under differing stages of industrial development. While the limitations of this article prevent the consideration of any other labor organizations save those in the United States, it is appropriate to begin by pointing out two basic principles which are common to this movement the world over.

In the first place, the labor movement is a folk movement, which comes from the "grass roots"; it can come in no other way. It is a movement born of necessity, which arises out of the need of workers for some power or agency to safeguard the conditions under which they work; it grows in response to the demand of workers for a status in the enterprise of industry itself. The labor movement is a child of the industrial revolution. Without the introduction of the machine into western civilization a century and a half ago there would be no organized movement of labor; without the extension of technology the world over the movement today would not be world-wide. But it is not only the universality of work that unites men in the labor movement throughout the world; it is also the quest of the spirit of man to fulfill his destiny in human brotherhood.

In the second place, the labor movement is a contemporary movement concerned not only with the ideals of social justice in

the abstract but in the day-to-day problems of workers in mine, mill, and workshop. It is idealistic in conception but practical in method. It must continually readjust both its tactics and its methods to correspond to the needs of the day. Unless the movement of labor is contemporary both to the condition and the needs of workers, unless it is continually reexamining both its policy and its strategy to meet the needs of the hour, it would fail of its purpose and lose the adherence of its followers. Thus it has a long-time goal and a short-time purpose to pursue simultaneously and consistently.

In the United States the American labor movement as we know it has its roots planted deep in the American soil and yet is responsive to the broad appeals of international coöperation. The American movement, following the pattern of the British Trades Union movement, adapted itself to its own land. It not only adjusted itself to our own form of government but developed an ideology which was the product of our own experience. It is not a coincidence, for example, that when the structure of the American Federation of Labor was devised it should have followed so faithfully the pattern of our Federal system of government. The various State branches of the Federation of Labor mirror the State governments in our country, as do the central labor bodies mirror the municipal governments in our cities. The Annual Convention of the Federation is a Congress of American Labor which considers not only labor problems but also matters of broad public policy.

But it is not in structure alone that the American labor movement has adapted itself to the American scene. It is more particularly in its policy and program. More than a hundred years ago in this country, when the forerunners of the Federation of Labor witnessed the extension of political democracy, they also recognized the fundamental fact that government by the people would have to rest on the education of all the people. Accordingly the leaders of labor became the militant advocates of a great system of free public education in this land. During this year 1936, when we are

celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of Horace Mann's contribution to the free public-school system in America, it is fitting that we should recognize the contribution of many of those unrecorded leaders of labor who devoted themselves with such vigor to championing legislation in the various States of the eastern seaboard for the establishment of our public schools. For more than a hundred years now American labor has been one of the most faithful of all the functional groups in our society in support of the opportunities for free public education from the primary and secondary levels up through continuation schools, vocational schools, to institutions of higher learning and indeed to education at the adult level. Thus directly has labor contributed to fashioning one of the most potent instruments in developing attitudes among our people on both domestic and foreign problems. Similarly, in its struggle for the abolition of child labor, labor has proved its faith in the inalienable right of all to their birthright of equality of educational opportunity.

Furthermore, in the maintenance of the integrity of American institutions against divisive forces of all kinds both within and without, American labor has a force impregnable. Indeed, it is not too much to say that whether in war or in peace the hosts of labor have been militant in their support of American institutions and American methods. So deeply had the great leader of American labor caught the spirit of his adopted land that he could utter as his last words upon his death bed: "God bless our American institutions; may they grow better day by day!"

There is still another aspect of the activity of the unions which is sometimes lost sight of but is nevertheless of very real service in the cause of true Americanization. Year after year the trade unions have taken into membership the workers from different countries, with differing racial and cultural backgrounds, and through the process of union discipline have given them at once a knowledge and an understanding of American institutions and ways. Indeed,

it is not too much to say that the union meetings have provided one of the most important forums for the sound naturalization of foreign-born workers.

But while the American labor movement has been indigenous to our American scene, it would be erroneous to suppose that there was not a keen awareness on the part of American labor of the broader world outlook. And this in part is a direct result of the task which the unions have performed in trying to discipline their members into an understanding of American habits and institutions. It is an oft repeated truism that America is a world in microcosm, that here we have representatives of all the races of the world. It has been particularly the adventurous artisans of these various races who have come to our shores bringing with them their backgrounds of tradition and outlook. American labor has been sympathetic to the problems of other peoples because it has had within its own membership their representatives who have been able to interpret the problems and needs of their own. It is not a coincidence that the appeals for the oppressed in Ireland or India or Russia or Germany or Spain or Italy have been made successively and often successfully to the hosts of American labor. For here was a movement at once separated from Europe, yet bound by countless invisible ties.

Again, the American labor movement is the only movement in the world that itself is made up of international unions—unions with a membership both in the United States and in Canada, and to a limited extent in Mexico. In the periodicals and publications of these unions the workers in other countries, particularly in our neighbors to the north and south, are taken for granted and not treated as strangers or foreigners.

In the third place, the American labor movement has for more than forty years carried on the practice at its annual conventions of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress and has in that way tended to keep a channel open for

the interchange both of experiences and of ideas. In more recent years the exchange of delegates with the Canadian Trades Congress, the Mexican Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Trade Unions, and, prior to the Nazi revolution, with the German Federation of Trade Unions has been another way in which there has been developed this link between the movements of the world

In the fourth place, many of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are themselves affiliated with other international trade secretariats such as the International Wood Workers' Union and the International Miners' Federation. While the American Federation of Labor does not now belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, which it helped to establish, there is a close working agreement between the two organizations and the present hope is that they may again be united in the international movement.

Finally, in our more recent membership as a nation in the International Labor Organization there is the basis of a closer bond of fellowship and unity with the representatives of labor in all of the countries of the world. While it is as yet too early to assert that the effects of this association can be seen, it is not too early to predict that this will be one of the beneficial outcomes of our membership in this important organization.

If the educational aims of an institution are to be determined by the extent to which its members are made aware of the nature of the world in which they live and work, then indeed one may assert that the labor movement is itself a vast educational institution devoted to humanistic aims, and is attempting to develop in its members both by precept and example an intelligent attitude toward problems both national and international.

COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATION ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL TRADE

E. L. BACHER

*Foreign Commerce Department,
Chamber of Commerce of the United States*

and

C. D. SNOW

American Section, International Chamber of Commerce

If you will examine carefully the activities and policies of American commercial organizations you will not find there an extreme position favoring complete nationalism or an extreme position favoring undiluted internationalism. These "ultimate" attitudes projected at times for theoretical discussion, or seized upon as rallying slogans by biased propagandists, find no counterpart in the day-to-day operations of chambers of commerce, trade associations, and similar groups.

In the broader field of international understanding the American business groups are sincerely interested in preserving attitudes that will make for good feeling between the nations, for fashioning really effective mechanisms for settling disputes without recourse to war, and for preserving peace. The economic objective, found most frequently in the actions and statements of commercial organizations, is amicable coördination and reconciliation of our domestic economy with the great forces of world trade and world industrial development.

Since its establishment in 1912, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which is a federation of chambers of commerce and manufacturing and trade associations throughout the United States and some American chambers of commerce abroad, has had to interest itself not only in the promotion of export business but also in adequate protection for domestic industries. This is a reflection of the fact that the local chambers of commerce and trade

associations have had to look at both sides of the coin. A broadside picture of American industry and commerce will show many producing enterprises in the manufacturing field, in the agricultural field, and in mining and forestry, dependent in varying degrees upon foreign markets for the distribution of a sizable part of annual output. Likewise we have thousands upon thousands of retail and wholesale distributors who handle one or more imported food products, particularly items of tropical origin or distinctive food specialties. Many of our important industries also are dependent upon foreign raw materials in their manufacturing processes.

Frequently within an individual industry we find conflict of opinion between groups, on the one hand, those wishing our country to pursue a liberal foreign policy in order to encourage liberal attitudes abroad toward their overseas business, and, on the other, groups apprehensive lest our tariff policy admit foreign products in such quantity or under such conditions as to damage the domestic market for American produced goods.

To meet these varying demands from American business houses and the American consumer, we witness, within certain fairly distinguishable upper and lower limits, modifications of commercial policy, changes in tariff rates, and shifts in organization opinion, but none of them ever reaching the unrealistic extremes that are suggested by the words "nationalism" and "internationalism." For example there is no chamber of commerce, to our knowledge, which has urged for the United States either (1) a policy of one-hundred-per-cent free trade, or (2) a policy of complete Chinese Wall exclusion of foreign products.

In discussing the attitude of American business organizations in the United States we shall speak particularly about the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, both because that is the assignment given us, and because in a short paper there is not space to go into the declarations of many individual organizations.

NATIONAL CHAMBER ACTION IN THE FIELD OF TARIFF PROTECTION

In the course of nearly a quarter century of existence, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has made many recommendations, determined by referendum or by resolution of its member organizations, looking to adequate protection for domestic industries. The position taken has always been in terms of general policy, without "breaking down" the recommendations so as to indicate, for example, whether or not a particular product needed protection or as to the level at which the duty applying to any commodity should be established—the latter functions being usually well taken care of by the respective trade associations and the Government Tariff Commission. In general the Chamber has supported the proposal that our tariff laws should assure reasonable protection for American industries subject to destructive competition from abroad and of benefit to any considerable section of the country.

In the years since the World War, there have been so many repeated instances of major changes in economic factors, affecting the incidence of tariff rates, that the Chamber's membership has supported the procedure established by the "flexible" tariff for the adjustment of tariff rates by administrative action within limits prescribed by Congress for the purpose of maintaining a consistent tariff policy. The function of the Tariff Commission in administering these flexible provisions of our law has been especially significant in meeting cases of destructive foreign competition.

Attention has also been directed to the growing importance of America's transshipment trade, and support has been given the proposal that there should be a law authorizing the establishment of foreign-trade zones in which products might be landed, manipulated, and reexported without going through the red tape of customs procedure.

MEASURES FOR THE PROMOTION OF FOREIGN TRADE

Since the establishment of the Chamber, its members on several occasions have subscribed to the importance of international trade

to the lasting economic welfare of the United States. In order to foster such world trade they have urged that there be proper encouragement and support for extension of American banking and insurance overseas and that there be provision of adequate transportation, communication, travel, service, and other facilities associated with our business contacts with the rest of the world. Support has been given to the recent policy of negotiating reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries, so far as consistent with reasonable protection for American industries and having regard for existing treaties.

The Chamber has asked support for certain international conventions looking to the removal of many of the prohibitions, restrictions, excessive formalities, export and import controls, government purchasing and selling monopolies, and foreign-exchange controls, which have constituted such serious impediments to the normal development of the worlds' international trade. It has also directed appreciative attention to the work of our own Government and the work of the International Chamber of Commerce in endeavoring thus to remove some of the arbitrary stumbling blocks in the pathway of normal international trade exchange.

Throughout the world there are more than 35 American chambers of commerce abroad. Many of these American organizations in foreign countries are in the membership of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, whose Foreign Commerce Department serves as an important connecting link between them and the more than 110 chambers of commerce in the United States having foreign-trade bureaus and foreign-trade committees. Attention has repeatedly been called to the importance of these American chambers abroad in the advancement of American foreign commerce, in the promotion of approved standards of business, and in the maintenance and increase of international good will; and all American firms and companies with representatives in foreign countries have been urged to encourage their representatives to join the American chambers of commerce in those countries and to participate actively in the work of the chambers and their committees.

There are quite a few trade associations making efforts to expand foreign sales for their products, and there are more than thirty foreign-trade clubs. There are likewise several foreign-trade associations that are national in scope, as well as a number of regional groups interested in the promotion of overseas business.

Most of these private groups, as well as the Government Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, maintain close contact with each other. In 1935 and 1936 this coöperation took tangible form in the observance of a "National Foreign Trade Week" in the week containing May 22, that day having been officially designated by the United States Congress as "National Maritime Day." In 1935 more than three hundred organizations, including not only commercial organizations, but likewise many educational groups, participated in this observance sponsored by the National Chamber; in 1936 the number was in excess of six hundred. At present plans are under way for the observance of a similar week in 1937 during the week May 16 to May 22.

In the United States there are also some forty-five foreign chambers of commerce, some of which are members of the National Chamber and with all of which it maintains contact.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Of special significance is the close coöperation between the American business organizations and the International Chamber of Commerce. The International Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1919 for the purpose of promoting trading relations between the nations. The American business men took a leading part in the establishment of this international body and have maintained membership in the organization and supported it consistently. The American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce has its office in the headquarters building of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Through the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, American

business men and organizations have a channel through which to reflect our business viewpoints into the international scene, particularly with reference to the participation of American industry, agriculture, banking, insurance, shipping, communications, and travel in international trade.

A brief statement of some of the subjects dealt with by the International Chamber will indicate fields in which organized business in the United States interests itself in the world picture. Such activities include matters relating to production, distribution inside countries, trade between countries, currencies, foreign exchange, international lending, banking, taxation, stock exchanges, commodity exchanges, various fields of transportation, various fields of communication, patents, trade-marks, copyrights, commercial law, laws applying to branch companies in foreign countries, trade terms, commercial arbitration, in fact any important phase of international trade relationship whose betterment may contribute to greater and more profitable world business.

Through the structure of the International Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers Association, and other member organizations in the United States have association with similar groups in the following foreign countries having national committees representing the International Chamber: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Danzig, Holland, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Indo-China, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, also with the following countries, which, though not having national committees, do have business groups participating in the International Chamber; Albania, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Ecuador, Haiti, Irish Free State, Lithuania, Palestine, Siam, South Africa, and the Sudan.

COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The extent to which commercial organizations have been established throughout the world, and thus afford channels for promoting international trade relationships and good will, is indicated in a recent publication of the Foreign Commerce Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States listing more than eight thousand chambers of commerce scattered over every continent. Of these groups, 5,370 are in the United States and 3,150 in foreign countries. While many of these organizations, particularly those in the United States, are small and have only an occasional interest in international trade and international relationships, nevertheless this world-wide network of organizations of business men constitutes one of the most effective and important channels through which there may be brought home to world populations, the importance of sane and friendly thinking in the solution of any divergencies of opinion that may arise. A copy of this directory has been placed in the hands of the secretary of each of the eight thousand organizations listed, opening the way for closer world friendship and coöperation.

It may safely be said that in these chambers of commerce in foreign countries as in those in the United States the extremes of complete nationalism or complete internationalism do not exist in actual practice, even in nations that may agitate strongly for measures leaning heavily in one or the other of these directions. Actually the path of progress and the path of peace lead along the highway of coördination and coöperation, adapting policies to the major good of the countries concerned and of the world itself as a single business unit.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

Whether one agrees or disagrees with the sentiments expressed and programs presented in these articles, certainly such organizations are exerting a very real influence and, as such, are included in this survey.

THE LEGION, NATIONALISM, AND INTERNATIONALISM

ALEXANDER GARDINER

The American Legion Monthly

The American Legion, membership in which is limited to those who saw service in uniform during the World War, is naturally interested in the kind of nation America is to be in the years to come. Having been rallied to the colors in the belief that they were engaging in a crusade to make the world safe for democracy, ex-service men saw soon after the cessation of hostilities that the victory which had been made possible by terrific sacrifices was to be set at naught by the ambitions and intrigues of virtually all of those powers President Wilson called "our Associates." The unholy scramble for possession of Germany's colonies made the former soldiers cynical of the politicians in whose hands remained the decision for peace or war.

As a preamble to its constitution the American Legion in 1919 set forth its aims and aspirations as follows:

For God and country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one-hundred-per-cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War, to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and nation, to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness

Being realistic about the place of America in the world, the

Legion and its Auxiliary, which numbers some 400,000 women, have consistently advocated a system of national defense which will protect our shores from attack from any source. Only too well aware that in wartime the munition makers garner great profits, the Legion has carried on a fight for fifteen years for a scheme of universal service that will make every element of the population and of industry bear a fair share of the burden of war and make it impossible for any one to eke a profit out of the nation's calamities. These "attitudes of nationalism" are part of the warp and woof of the Legion's pattern of Americanism, and from them stem the many activities which its million members in some 11,300 Posts carry on throughout each year. It might be said that every action by every Post of the Legion throughout a given year is an "attitude of nationalism," for the Legion believes wholeheartedly in the destiny of America and is daily preaching and practising the doctrine of the American spirit of democracy, of fair play, and of sportsmanship. We believe in reverence for the flag of the United States of America, for to us it is a symbol of all that this nation has come to mean through the generations, and in that symbol we trace the development of democratic institutions from the time of Runnymede. We are mindful of the sacrifices that made this nation possible, and we hope that our children will receive it from us greater than we have known it and that they in turn will make it still better and finer.

So we are glad to sponsor Boy Scout troops, to encourage good scholarship and good sportsmanship by awarding each year some seven thousand or more school medals, to conduct citizenship classes for our foreign born, to cooperate with the National Education Association in the program of American Education Week; in short, to say and do those things that will spread the belief throughout this nation that nowhere under the sun is there in such bountiful measure the opportunity for the "good life" that there is in America, and that so long as we are blessed with the Constitution we now

have shall we continue to be a great nation. In its devotion to the Constitution the Legion naturally looks upon that document not as static, but as a growing thing. In this view the right of the people as a whole to settle questions of national policy is preeminent, and, so long as changes in our organic law are made peacefully and in accord with the rules of the game as set forth in the Constitution, the Legion believes the citizen is bound by them.

I might mention other activities of the Legion in the "national" field, the Boys' State, for instance, whereby each year promising youths of high-school age are given the opportunity of studying their State's government by serving for several days as legislators and other officials in a government modeled on that of the actual Commonwealth in which they live; or the junior baseball program, which annually gives half a million boys lessons in fair play and sportsmanship.

In the matter of "fostering attitudes of internationalism" the American Legion as a member of Fidac (*Fédération Interalliée des Anciens Combattants*), an organization of some eight million ex-service men in eleven countries, is actively interested in peace work among all nations. The Legion sends a delegation to the annual Congress of Fidac, held successively with one of the member countries. With conditions as they are in Europe at the moment one would be foolish to say unequivocally that resolutions of ex-service men can prevent war, but it is equally true that these millions of men and women working in the cause of peace are a definite factor in the maintenance of peace. A concrete example of Fidac's work for peace came a few years ago when ex-service men of Poland and Czechoslovakia, by the force of their opinion, prevailed upon the newspapers of their respective countries to cease a propaganda of hatred which was flowing across the frontiers of the two countries. In the field of European affairs mention should be made of the resolutions passed unanimously by Fidac's London Congress in 1934 and affirmed by succeeding Congresses.

The . . . Fidac, conscious of the existing fear of war, pledges all its efforts for the maintenance of peace among nations, and further:

1. States that it is the duty of ex-service men grouped in Fidac to fulfill the mission befalling them through the sacrifice of their glorious dead and do their utmost for public opinion in each country to sustain all measures capable of maintaining peace

2. Appeals to ex-service men of former enemy countries who are inspired by similar feelings to take part in efforts directed against any conflicts between peoples.

3. Affirms to the younger generation of the whole world that the establishment of permanent peace is possible by means of the collaboration of peoples and appeals to its sense of generosity to help in the realization of this peace in an upright and equitable manner.

Father Robert J. White, American Vice-President of Fidac, reporting to the Legion recently on the work of the international organization, declared, "Our efforts will be worth while if we avert war for a single hour."

As a member of Fidac the Legion conducts annually a competition among higher institutions of learning in America for three medals—one given to a university, one to a college, and a third to either one. These awards are made on the basis of the institution's achievement in promoting international good will and understanding.

The "good-neighbor" policy toward other nations enunciated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt finds a hearty response in the American Legion, which realizes the futility of warfare as a national policy and daily strives for that "just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations" that was the inspiration of Abraham Lincoln in the dark days of our Civil War.

TAPESTRY WEAVERS

MRS. WILLIAM A. BECKER

National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution

The National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, was organized with the purpose of keeping clear the American

vision, of preserving her birthright and her ancient landmarks, and of educating her citizens for their individual responsibilities.

Forty-five years ago, eighteen far-visioned women formed a new society and received a charter as copartners with their Government; today, nearly 150,000 members in 2,500 chapters are the evidence of their faith.

Ours is the responsibility to carry on to greater fruition the work committed to our hands, our purpose to preserve the ancient landmarks, to foster the cause of freedom and to educate citizens who will make real the American dream—freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for all. The Constitution of the United States of America is our pattern, and our design in all respects harmonizes with its precepts. We are builders, not destroyers; our work is inspiring and diversified.

Behold a beautiful tapestry and think of the many whose labor contributes to its perfection. Some grow the flax, some spin the thread, some perfect the colors and make the dyes, while others blend their beauty and follow the intricacies of design, and produce the thing of beauty. Generations contribute their talents—*slow painstaking work with patience and skill. So with the work we have set for our Society.* All may be workers; some have the vision, some the knowledge, some the many skills necessary to bring to perfection America's dream.

The highways and byways of the past are searched out and its history and its records are preserved as guideposts. Bible records are copied, old wills preserved, funds secured for cataloguing, and the groundwork laid for the growth of our Society. Cooperation is asked in making D.A.R. records available to others who seek membership. Books and valuable manuscripts are sought and procured, and the D.A.R. Genealogical Library ranks second to none in the United States.

Stories of old trails, including Indian trails, military trails, pony express, mail-coach and old settlers trails catch our fancy as we picture them with their trains of covered wagons bearing precious

cargoes of potential citizens and winners of a wilderness. We mark them, commemorate their history, and tell their stories to our children.

Contributions of historical and legendary lore are welcomed by the Filing and Lending Bureau; very special is the need for plays and pageants suitable for young people, and based upon American traditions. Radio, screen, and motion picture are employed channels of contact. The D.A.R. magazine is a medium of information. It is constantly improved in content and in style, and has a wide circulation.

Thrift is almost a stranger to our national life, but remains a virtue to be valued. Natural resources and human life are ours to conserve. In conserving the lessons of the past is the progress of the future assured. "The heritage that's to your fathers lent, earn it anew in order to possess it," are words of the great Goethe. Each generation must earn its heritage; unless earned it is soon lost. Democracy has not failed; her ideals are but lost to sight.

One hundred thousand children are enrolled in the clubs of the D.A.R. Its program of education begins in the cradle. The Children of the American Revolution is her nursery; the Sons and Daughters of the United States of America enfold her children by adoption; the Girl Home Makers train the mothers of the future. Our women are active in Boy and Girl Scout organizations, and in our own good citizenship projects.

Character building and citizenship are developed through good citizenship projects. Two thousand medals presented in one year testify to the work begun on these lines. The Good Citizenship Pilgrimage, bringing to Washington an outstanding senior girl student from each State, has been accepted as a permanent part of our educational program.

D.A.R. scholarships and student loan funds are giving opportunity to over one thousand boys and girls. Our approved schools are reaching hundreds of sturdy Americans long denied advan-

tages in their mountain homes. Well may it be possible that these Americans have been preserved for this hour of their country's need. Early American stock has been outdistanced by elements foreign to the nation's ideals, immigration restricted all too late. Laxity in policy and in enforcement means there are millions of unassimilated aliens in the United States of America today, while a corresponding number of her citizens are unemployed. Rome fell only when foreign hordes ruled in her citadel, and her people had become soft from lives of luxury and ease.

At Ellis and Angel Islands the turmoil has subsided. Through examination at the port of debarkation, the numbers here detained are greatly reduced. Work and occupation for those awaiting their fate are provided by materials contributed by the faithful services of three full time D.A.R. workers.

The D.A.R. Manual for Citizenship is a boon to the foreigner seeking knowledge of a strange land. It is carrying its message of patriotism and sound Americanism into thousands of hearts and homes.

Americanism has been defined as "an educational process of unifying both the native and foreign born in perfect support of American principles." Few cities have Americanization schools; many have workers' schools where class warfare is inculcated, and hatred for this Government is taught. Every public-school system in the United States should have its Americanization school, and citizens should see that its influence reaches all who are handicapped by strangeness of language and customs.

National defense is the peace program of the D.A.R. The D.A.R. wants peace, works for peace, a righteous peace and not peace at any price. It believes that the best way to maintain peace is through an adequate national defense, as laid down by the law of the land. That "God grants liberty to those who love it and who are prepared to defend it" is self-evident.

Disarmament by the United States as a means to world peace is

an empty dream; those who would have us unprepared to preserve our nation are enemies not only of the country which affords them all the blessings of life, but of world peace which depends upon the growth of opportunity and justice.

The education system should be kept free from governmental control, and the American people should not commit suicide by failure to provide teachers who have faith in America.

The present generation is turning to consideration of fundamental economic and social problems. In the words of Dr. Angell, "It is not wise to tie down the safety valve if you would not have the boiler explode." Discussion must remain free, thought must be encouraged, speech unafraid, leadership carefully trained, but anchorage made secure.

As Christianity has progressed but slowly over a period of two thousand years, and that under Divine Guidance, should we be discouraged if in the short space of one hundred and fifty years a government based upon these precepts has failed to attain perfection? When people seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, all these things will be added unto them. The character of a people is their greatest assurance of peace and prosperity. To develop character is our goal. Education, indeed, civilization itself is on trial. With a return to good old-fashioned reverence for God, law observance will take care of itself.

Boys and girls just out of high school, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three, need hope and preparation for the future. The necessities of life, healthful recreation, educational opportunities, spiritual guidance, and a true realization of what it means to be an American citizen are their birthright. Every chapter is urged to make at least one boy or girl its chief concern, to open for him the way to a useful life. They are not difficult to find. The expense need not be great, but the return in happiness and security will be a thousand fold. Inspire with truth and hope and faith!

Industry, integrity, civic responsibility, courage, discipline, and

faith should be instilled in our youth in this period of our nation's crisis. It is possible to lift men's souls, eradicate crime, relieve stress and strain and, above all, prepare the way for better manhood and womanhood.

It is our aim to form junior groups within the chapters. We need to attract the young women just out of school and college. They are full of enthusiasm and vigor, and their energies are needed in humanitarian service. The D.A.R. offers a fertile field of opportunity where talents may be woven into the great American design and make it a thing of beauty.

Not as reactionaries but as progressives, it is ours to carry forward the spirit of America, surrendering to no foe the sacred trust committed to our hands, a trust we are in honor bound to pass on unimpaired to our children. As instruments of service to young and old, rich and poor, native and foreign born, the Daughters of the American Revolution are weaving the elements of national life into harmony with the Constitution of the United States for home, country, and God.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROPAGANDA IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM AND
INTERNATIONALISM

HENRY G. WELLMAN
New Rochelle Public Schools

It is probably quite safe to assert that no one in the world actually wants war, not even the dictators if they can become powerful enough so that they can snatch the territory they covet without it. Yet, when consideration is given to the extremes to which nationalism is going in the various countries, the lust for expansion, the individual egotism and greed manifested by these dictators, the base use to which propaganda is being put in building up race prejudice and accentuating religious differences, the subjection of

personal liberty, and, finally, the unparalleled race for rearmament, any individual is blind indeed who fails to read the handwriting on the wall. A conflict so deadly that civilization itself may be expected to perish can be the only result.

No one who lived through the dreadful years of the World War and these ensuing years of depression can fail to realize the trend of the times with anything but a sinking heart. Full well do we realize now that a war to end war, or any other war, regardless of how its purpose may be exalted, can do nothing for a troubled world but breed fresh troubles, deepen old antagonisms, destroy that which is best in our civilization, delay progress for all time by the destruction of the young and strong, and by these evils create yet other wars. Nothing can be depended upon with greater confidence to perpetuate itself than war.

We are, however, both impatient and frightened, impatient that the machinery for peace has not yet found a way to keep the peace; frightened that the situation in the world is so tense, and that whole nations are being inculcated with the virus of hate and intolerance, cruelty, greed, and visions of national supremacy. But we should remember how short a time, and in how relatively few places, except in the minds and hearts of a few inspired individuals who blaze the trail, founders and leaders of committees, councils, conferences, and organizations, the idea of being a citizen of the world has been voiced aloud. To a much less extent has it been accepted as a working political creed. People do not so greatly enlarge their accepted notions of citizenship over night.

This is too urgent a need and too vast a project to be left to the normal processes of education in our public schools. Fortunately it is not necessary, although the schools can and must bear a heavy part of the burden. As summarized in an earlier issue of this JOURNAL, it becomes the duty of the schools, of those who administer them and instruct the children therein, to be fully alive to the task imposed. It is the school in each community to which we may look

for a sort of springboard, a point of departure, if you please, in full cooperation with all the organizations and institutions for the furtherance of international understanding in our own country and in the world. A new type of citizen must be achieved, a fresh point of view, a realization that the welfare of each individual in the world is irrevocably bound up with that of all the others, and that only through the fostering of the international spirit can the truest nationalism be realized.

Fortunately the schools are not alone in affording opportunity for this educational project. Speaking before the Inter-American Conference on Peace at Buenos Aires, Secretary of State Cordell Hull said:

Our churches have direct contact with all groups; they may remember that the peacemakers are the children of God. We have artists and poets who can distill their needed knowledge into trenchant phrase and line; they have work to do. Our great journals on both continents cover the world. Our women are awake; our youth sentient, our clubs and organizations make opinion everywhere. There is a strength here available greater than that of armies.

The vast number of agencies that have developed specifically to foster the development of an international attitude of mind have tremendous potentiality. Their variation in methods have been presented above, but all such organizations have done much to focus the public mind on the basic problems of nationalism and internationalism. There are many who believe that the work of these propagandist organizations is more or less futile, that they fail to stir the emotions or fire the imagination; that their appeal is purely to the intellect and that they fail to touch the great mass of the people who must, in final analysis, determine basic policies.

While it is true, of course, that many of the publications have only limited circulation and that forum groups include only a small proportion of the population, the agencies themselves are increasingly conscious of these limitations and are successfully reaching

an even larger number of people. Through coöperation with other agencies, through the use of popular media of propaganda and by working together more closely in their own activities, they are answering the critics with concrete programs and specific proposals for action.

In the hope that a brief list of some of the most active of the organizations interested in this field will be of benefit to many, such a list, together with a brief word of description of each, is appended to this article. These organizations are actively working in one way or another in an attempt to bring intelligence to bear upon the problems of nations with a view to securing more peaceful, profitable, and sensible relations among them. They are inadequately staffed in most instances, their staff members are poorly paid, in many instances not paid at all. But we have them and they need our acquaintance and support as we in turn need the information that they are specialized to supply. From them it is possible to obtain literature; reports of research, conferences, and institutes; at times, speakers; and answers to the many questions arising on current developments in international affairs.¹

A PARTIAL LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT PUBLISH MATERIAL
FOR STUDY GROUPS
IN THE FIELD OF NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

American Association of University Women, 106 East 52d Street, New York City Pamphlets and other publications for discussion groups.

The American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Penn Especially equipped to furnish material for adult-education groups It conducts summer institutes at various universities throughout the country

American Legion, See article in this issue.

¹ For a detailed analysis of practically all of the organizations in this field and an excellent summary of their activities, the reader is referred to the following publications Elton Atwater, "Organized Efforts in the United States toward Peace" Digest Press of the American University Graduate School, 1901 F Street, Washington, D C, Edith E Ware, "The Study of International Relations in the United States" Survey for 1934, published for the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, Columbia University Press (survey for 1936 soon to be published)

- American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation*, 405 West 117th Street, New York City A coordinating council with a program in the social sciences, also covers activities in literature, art, and the exact sciences, as well as the administrative problems in the field of international intercourse The chairman of the American Committee is the American Member of the League Committee and is appointed by the Council of the League
- American Peace Society*, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Oldest peace society in America, publishes the magazine *World Affairs*, exercises conservative influence upon the peace movement, encourages the furtherance of peace through education along the lines of international cooperation and justice
- Catholic Association for International Peace*, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. Entirely educational, see article in this issue
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 405 West 117th Street, New York City, also 700 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Publishes *International Conciliation*, monthly, except July and August Organizes international relations clubs in the United States, Europe, and the Orient, offers practical aid in securing material, distributes books and documents and sets up International Alcove Libraries of reference material in small colleges; publishes *Fortnightly Summary* of world development, suitable for high-school and college use.
- Committee on the Cause and Cure of War*, 1924 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City Sponsors formation marathon round-table discussion groups, represents eleven organizations of women, tries to clarify issues in international relations and discover and show steps that must be taken to "achieve a world at peace", distributes study outlines, informative material, bibliographies, contacts press and legislators.
- Committee on Cooperation in Latin America*, 254 Fourth Avenue, New York City Promotes friendly relations between the Americans of both continents
- Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America*, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City Facilitates the increase of understanding between Americans and Latin Americans and its consequent friendliness
- Committee on World Friendship Among Children*, 105 East 22d Street, New York City Makes available lists of books on the children of various nations, active in the distribution of posters and literature, believes that the best hope of peace in the future lies in the education of children
- Council of Foreign Relations*, 45 East 65th Street, New York City Membership limited to those who have a real and active interest in international affairs, has published three volumes of research material, publishes quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*
- Daughters of the American Revolution* See article in this issue
- Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America*, 105 East 22d Street, New York City See article in this issue
- Foreign Affairs Forum*, 340 West 42d Street, New York City Works primarily in settlement houses, broadcasts programs in adult education
- Foreign Policy Association*, 8 West 40th Street, New York City Promotes discussion groups and institutes, furnishes information without attempting to promote any special cause, publishes *Weekly Bulletin*, *Foreign Policy Reports*, *Headline Books* Very reasonable rates for membership and literature *Washington News Letter*, weekly, except July and August

Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City. American headquarters for exchange professors and students, interested in developing intellectual good will through education, information furnished on international fellowships and conferences.

Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52d Street, New York City and Honolulu, T. H. Entirely unofficial, established to study relations between various countries located in the Pacific area; promotes cooperative study through summer institutes, reports of which are published in press, and bulletins.

League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Publications: *Chronicle of World Affairs*, *Essential Facts about the League*, *Brief History of the League of Nations*, conducts annual competitive examination on the League of Nations for high-school students, first prize a trip to Europe, organizes model assemblies of the League, has prepared material for use in high schools in this and related connections.

No Frontiers News Service, Wilton, Connecticut. Gets information not otherwise obtainable, because of censorship, about popular movements and makes clear underlying conditions, designed primarily for newspapers but can be obtained under special conditions. Subscription price low, one sheet news service entitled *World Events*, published twice a month, except July and August.

Pan American Union, 17th Street, Washington, D. C. Active in promoting inter-American friendship; distributes material to elementary and secondary schools and clubs in connection with Pan-America Day, issues monthly magazine during school year.

Social Science Research Council, 330 Park Avenue, New York City. Exists for the one comprehensive purpose of advancing the study of man in his relation to man, a central organization for the coordination of planning in research in the social sciences in this country.

Student Forum on the Paris Pact, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. publishes pamphlet *The Paris Pact and International Relations*, which includes some 36 projects suggesting things to be done in the study of international relations in the high schools; furnishes free kit on the teaching of Paris Pact in schools.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Issues *Pax International* monthly, and, more frequently, a branch letter, publishes programs for high-school assemblies and similar gatherings, has loan libraries on international subjects to be obtained by schools, pamphlets and material available on the Munitions Industry Investigation, neutrality legislation, education for peace-mindedness in schools.

World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, and 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Distributes valuable material on the waste, destructiveness, and evil effects of war; promotes international justice and the brotherhood of man by every practical means.

Groups Seeking Constructive Legislation

Department of International Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches. See article in this issue.

League of Nations Association. See above.

National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.,

- 205 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, California Clearing house 32 national organizations, publishes monthly magazine, *Peace Action*, its nine departments furnish material for varied types of peace activities
- National Peace Conference*, 8 West 40th Street, New York City Advocates definite programs and policies for furtherance of world peace by promoting greater unification and cooperation among 17 national peace organizations and 17 national organizations with active peace committees, material available upon peace as a political issue, increasing military and naval expenditures, individuals interested in the peace movement are mobilized for action at times upon specific issues relating to the policies of the council Publishes a series of authoritative and concise "World Affairs Books"
- Public Action*, Room 4412, RCA Building, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City Furnishes information to its members when it believes concerted action in behalf of a particular piece of legislation affecting international peace will be effective
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 532 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D C See above
- World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches*, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City Welcomes men and women of all religious faiths and political affiliations, 875 cooperating centers, covering every State and 16 centers in Canada, Hawaii, and the Philippines, *News Letter* on international affairs is published bimonthly,
- World Peaceways*, 103 Park Avenue, New York City. Youngest of the peace societies, uses modern advertising methods peace posters and post cards and other publicity material available designed to reach the masses of American people not being reached by other organized peace efforts

Pacifists and War Resisters

- The Fellowship of Reconciliation*, 2929 Broadway, New York City American branch of a purely pacifist association, organized in twenty-three countries, repudiates war, exploitation, and racial discrimination and seeks to apply the principles of Jesus to all group relationships, publishes interracial news letter, dealing especially with whites and Negroes, pamphlets, literature, and occasional news releases A monthly magazine *Fellowship*, encourages the teaching and study of pacifism and nonviolence
- New History Society and Green International*, 132 East 65th Street, New York City. Students' league from among the schools and colleges of the world; membership now over five thousand; sponsors essay contests; encourages friendship among the children of all countries by means of the exchange of correspondence, publishes *The Children's Caravan*, *The Caravan*, and *New History*
- Peace Patriots*, 114 East 31st Street, New York City Material available on the thesis "that absolute pacifism is consistent with true patriotism" Publishes a monthly bulletin, *The Arbitrator*
- War Resisters League*, 171 West 12th Street, New York City Holds philosophy that war will cease when men refuse to fight, declares war is a crime against humanity, attempts to get pledges not to fight, distributes large number of publications on war resistance
- Women's Peace Union*, 2 Stone Street, New York City. Urges the adoption of the Frazier Amendment making all war and preparation for war by the United States illegal

BOOK REVIEWS

Under the Axe of Fascism, by GAETANO SALVEMINI. New York: Viking Press, 1936, 402 pages.

To those, intentionally or through superficial knowledge and acceptance of official statements at face value, who have woven a halo about the corporative state and made a "knightly Saint George" of Mussolini, this book is an effective refutation. The author, formerly professor of history at Florence, has presented a carefully documented analysis of official pronouncements, the current Italian press, and the many American and English interpretations. Limiting the field to "those institutions through which Fascism claims to have solved the relations between capital and labor," he draws continual contrasts between the "complete trade-union liberty" and the freedom of the employer's associations, declared in official documents for world consumption, and the specific practice of absolute dictatorship, in which the ballot is but a hollow ritual. The book is an interesting analysis of the propaganda of nationalism.

Militarism in Japan, by KENNETH W. COLEGROVE. New York: World Peace Foundation, 1936, 78 pages.

Through documented analysis, the author traces the development of militarism in Japan and its present dominance. In the concluding pages, the author briefly describes the cross currents which may curb the continual dominance of the military.

This is No. 16 of the series "World Affairs Pamphlets" the publication of which has been recently transferred to the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Other recent publications in the series include:

No. 10. *War and Depression*, by J. D. Condliffe

No. 13. *America Must Act*, by Francis Bowes Sayre

No. 14. *Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War*, by Sir Norman Angell

No. 15. *Latin America*, by Stephen P. Duggan

No. 17. *The Cotton South and the American Trade Policy*, by Peter Molyneux

The following are in preparation.

"What is War," "Conflicts of Policy in the Far East," "The Economic

Need of an Organized World," "Armaments and Taxes," "Why Science Indicts War," and many others

Can China Survive? by HALLETT ABEND and ANTHONY J. BILLINGHAM. New York: Ives Washburn, 1936, 317 pages.

To the question posed in the title, these two able foreign correspondents give a negative answer. Such an outlook is based upon more than ten years of close, first-hand observation of movements and affairs in the Orient. However, these events are recorded clearly and impartially and are presented so obviously as an uncolored recording of events that the reader closes this stimulating and extremely interesting volume with the feeling of the authors that the final catastrophe cannot be much longer delayed.

The Rise of Liberalism, by HAROLD J. LASKI. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, 327 pages.

Although historical and a careful tracing of the development of liberalism through the last four centuries, this volume is more than history. Through the perspective of the past, the author evaluates the doctrine of liberalism in its application to the present, both here and abroad.

To those not familiar with Laski's previous books, this will be a stimulating introduction, those who have followed his other writings will find the same forceful style that has made the author the "most important publicist of left-wing ideas writing in the English language."

The Middle Classes, Then and Now, by FRANKLIN C. PALM. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 421 pages.

This book fills a long-felt need. Many writers have bandied the words "middle class," but this is the first comprehensive analysis of the historical development and changing status of this potentially powerful group. The author has maintained a fine, objective viewpoint, yet has written forcefully and convincingly. It will be of as much interest to the layman as to the scholar and teacher.

The Future of Liberty, by GEORGE SOULE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 187 pages.

Written in the forceful and interesting style that has won him recognition, the author analyzes the American traditions of freedom, democracy, and equality, and the nature of the new social order toward which we are tending. In the present period of unrest and confusion this book sounds a challenging and optimistic note.

Political and Diplomatic History of Russia, by GEORGE VERNADSKY.

Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936, 499 pages.

Naturalized citizen No. 3,649,426 is George Vernadsky, who has been since 1927 research associate in history at Yale University. From 1914 to 1920 he was professor of Russian history in several Russian universities, traveled extensively, and watched with the eye of a historian the making of history at breath-taking speed around him.

In this volume he has summarized in brief chapters on successive chronological periods the entire history of Russia from its earliest beginnings to the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations in 1935. He has neither spared nor blamed but, with the objectivity of a trained historian, has recorded in clear, forceful style the on-moving of events in the "Land of the Bear."

The Theory of International Trade, by GOTTFRIED VON HABERLER.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 408 pages.

To those who have sought to analyze even a few of the tangled threads of international finance, this book comes as a very welcome contribution. The author, a member of the Financial Section of the League of Nations, has avoided the oversimplification of the so-called classical theory, and has shown by painstaking analysis the necessity of applying the same general economic principles of domestic trade (imperfect competition and business cycles) to the larger problems of international commercial policies. Through simple but carefully drawn analogies and many specific illustrations the author has succeeded in making a formidable subject both interesting and intelligible.

Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow, by RABBI LEE J. LEVINGER.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 334 pages.

The author analyzes the social, economic, and political factors that

have lifted anti-Semitism from a local problem of isolated areas to a world phenomena. He emphasizes the fact that such persecutions are not against the Jews as such, but are against any alien dominating group.

The book is earnestly commended both to the layman and to the student of this extremely important problem.

The reader is also referred to the following issues of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

July 1934, "World Trend Toward Nationalism"

May 1935, "Pressure Groups and Propaganda"

July 1935, "Socialism, Fascism and Democracy"

July 1936, "The Attainment and Maintenance of World Peace"

The Spanish Tragedy, 1930-1936, Dictatorship, Republic, Chaos, by E. ALLISON PEERS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936 (Third edition); xi + 223 pages.

A well-documented record of events in Spain beginning with the dictatorship of Don Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja, otherwise known as Primo de Rivera. The hectic and complicated period that followed, with the establishment of the Republic, the government of the Left, the government of the Centre-Right, and then finally the collapse into chaos, is extremely well told. It is worth the time of any student of politics to read this account of how a country may by various mismanagements come into inevitable disorganization. The panorama of factual data presented gives a valuable perspective on the present situation in Spain.

Under the Swastika, by JOHN B. HOLT. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936, 261 pages.

Forcefully and with unusual dramatic quality, the author relives his experiences in Germany during the epochal years 1931 to 1935. He describes objectively the major political, economic, educational, and religious changes which sanctified the state and the "Volk"—the national-racial group. It is likewise an excellent study in propaganda, the last short chapter only indicating the continued existence of an inner resistance against complete collectivism of thought and action.

Spain in Revolt, by HARRY GANNES AND THEODORE REPARD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937 (revised to 1937), 235 pages.

The authors, newspaper men who have been both students of Spain's past and direct observers of the current struggle, have given a clear, forceful analysis of the social, political, and economic causes of the revolt and an accurate portrayal of events to January 1937. The vital issues at stake, the possibility that Spain will again become the battleground of the Great Powers, the paucity of authoritative material in English, and the clear organization and interesting presentation of the authors should make an unprecedented demand for this book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Measurement of Urban Home Environment, by ALICE M. LEAHY. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press.

Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, April 1936. New York. Milbank Memorial Fund.

New Faces, New Futures, by MAXWELL MALTZ. New York. Richard R. Smith.

Neutrality: Its History, Economics and Law, Vol. IV, *Today and Tomorrow*, by PHILLIP C. JESSUP. New York. Columbia University Press.

Our America, by ADOLPH GILLIS AND ROLAND KETCHUM. New York. Little, Brown and Company.

Our American Heritage, by L. S. COYLE AND W. P. EVANS. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Patriotism Prepaid, by LEWIS J. GORIN, JR. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company.

Personality, by HAROLD V. GASKILL. New York. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Physiology of Love, by PAOLO MONTEGAZZA. New York. Eugenics Publishing Company.

Problems of Child Welfare, by GEORGE B. MANGOLD. New York. The Macmillan Company.

Prostitution in the Modern World, by GLADYS M. HALL. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

Psychology and Modern Problems, edited by J. A. HADFIELD. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.

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EDITORIAL

The building of character continues to be accepted by school people as the all-inclusive objective. Broadly conceived, it takes in all our carefully phrased cardinal objectives. This is well illustrated in the very superior statement of "The Cardinal Objectives in Elementary Education" prepared a few years ago by the Committee on Elementary Education of the New York State Council of Superintendents and published by the New York State Department of Education. The proposed six cardinal objectives can be reduced to the following key words: social relationships, self-expression, critical thinking, worth-while activities, knowledge and skills, and health. After analyzing many critical evaluations of these objectives in which the omission of "character education" was most frequently mentioned, the committee concludes that "all six of these objectives contribute to the attainment of character, that to the extent these six objectives are pursued character will be attained."

There is, however, an ever-present danger in this broad concept of character education, namely, the tendency to let things take care of themselves. Teachers may become more concerned over critical thinking and social relationships than book knowledge of history, more concerned over self-expression than sentence structure, and so on, all of which is fine. But, as educators of American youth, we also must study and manipulate his environment and guide his reactions to it in such a manner that socially adequate characters and

well-integrated personalities emerge. Furthermore, we as adults need to be conscious of objectives and processes—hence the need for carefully thought-out programs of character building.

Such programs will perforce call upon the many factors and forces that play upon and are a part of the child's environment. The December 1930 issue of *THE JOURNAL* gave somewhat of a systematic discussion of theory underlying various aspects of character education as presented by various contributors under the general direction of the special editor in charge of the current issue. The December 1933 issue reported some thirty experiments in character education under the direction of Professor Charles C. Peters at Pennsylvania State College. The current issue of *THE JOURNAL* reports desirable local and State-wide policies and practices now in process of development, suggests the contributions of mental hygiene, urges closer affiliation on the part of schools and churches with cooperating agencies interested in character education, and finally indicates the point of view and general procedure most likely to bring success to school programs of character building in our present society.

F. C. BORGESON

THE MENTAL HYGIENIST LOOKS AT CHARACTER EDUCATION

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH
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I

At 9.00 you twirl your radio dial, and bring in "Vox Pop" on station WEAJ. In the concourse of Grand Central Station a microphone has been set up. As people surge in and out, to and from the trains, individuals are cut out from the crowd and herded before the microphone. "What is your name?" "John Jones." "Where do you live, Mr. Jones?" "Mount Vernon." "What is your occupation?" "I'm a bookkeeper." "Are you married?" "Yes." "Fine, Mr. Jones, now will you tell us the difference between cerise and magenta." "Well—" "If your wife brought home a magenta dress, and you said 'What a lovely cerise, my dear,' would—" "Oh, sure, cerise is bright red like a cherry, and magenta is darker." "Pretty good, pretty good. A lot of women who are listening wish their husbands had as much idea of the color of the dresses they wear."

"Now, Mr. Jones, can you tell us what character is?" "Sure, that one's easy. When you do something you shouldn't do, you have a bad character." "What, for instance?" "Well, if you steal something, or don't support your wife—" "But not your mother-in-law, eh, Mr. Jones? And now, Mr. Jones, why does doing things like those make you a bad character?" "Oh, I guess it's just that people don't do things like that." "All right, Mr. Jones, and now just one more question . . ."

If a professor of ethics has been listening, he has already started twirling his dial again, looking for chamber music, meanwhile reflecting that it is no wonder the papers are full of crime news when that is the man in the street's conception of character. Yet, wherever we find men passing judgment as to the character of an-

other man, we are likely to find them thinking just as did John Jones. This man has character; that man lacks character. Why? Because this man does the things we hold good and approve, while that man does not do them. Why are these things approved and held good? Because the community approves them and holds them good. John Jones has perhaps more understanding of the nature of character than the professor of ethics.

Certainly the anthropologist and sociologist would support John Jones's point of view. They would point out that man's values—his conceptions of right and wrong, of good and bad, of desirable and undesirable behavior—vary from one part of the world to another, from one culture to another, with the values of the community. Pascal long ago commented on this fact:

. . . there is hardly an idea of justice or injustice which does not change with climate. Three degrees of latitude reverse all jurisprudence. The meridian decides the truth. The entrance of Saturn into the sign of the Lion marks the origin of a certain crime. Wonderful justice which is bounded by a river! Truth this side of Pyrenees, error on that!

As values vary from one culture to another, so do conceptions of character. In our own culture, infanticide and parricide are atrocious crimes. No one who committed them would be held to have good character. Yet in the Soloman Islands it was the custom to put to death one's children and to buy others from neighboring islands. Among a tribe in Africa it is the custom to put your parents to death while they are young enough to enjoy the next world. In these cultures, the man of good character kills his children or his parents; the man of bad character fails to do so.

Character, then, is a relative thing. It is the reflection in the attitudes and behavior of the individual, of the values and mores of the culture in which he lives. The majority of the forces which the community consciously brings to bear upon the growing child are of the nature of character education—are attempts on the part of the community to build its values and standards into the behavior of the

child. Character education in the schools is but one, though possibly the most planful one of these attempts.

II

The behavior of the child is, to begin with, solely a matter of impulse. He comes into the world with definite needs, which can be satisfied only by action upon his environment. His needs set up tensions which impel him to act on his environment—to cry, to struggle, to reach, to grasp, to crawl, to pry, to meddle, to appropriate, to destroy. His behavior reflects only his inner need; it is wholly without social reference.

But the child is born into a world of organized social relationships, a world of persons who, out of past generations of living together, have evolved very definite patterns of social behavior. These patterns constitute the custom or culture of the community. They embody the community's definitions of situations and standards of behaving. The child slowly learns that his needs can be met only on the terms of his social world, by conforming to its definitions and standards. The child is not left, however, to discover this for himself. The adults who make up his social world go to work immediately to build into his behavior the attitudes, standards, and values of the community—first, in the family; later, in the school and in the relationships of the community.

In trying to resolve his earliest and most elementary bodily tensions, those associated with hunger and elimination, the child encounters the definitions of the community—of time, of place, of approved behavior—as his mother establishes a regimen, later to be supplemented by verbal definition. During early childhood, in a thousand situations, he finds that between his impulse and its satisfaction must intervene behavior of which the community approves. As his world broadens, he encounters the even more rigid patterns of the school, the more aggressive attitudes of his fellows. As an adult he will find that the satisfactions of love and of labor are also to be had only on the terms of the mores of the community.

From the cry of birth the child protests. It is of the nature of impulse to seek satisfaction in as direct and immediate a fashion as possible. The child resists those adult definitions of situations which stand between his impulses and their immediate satisfaction. As he grows older, he meets them with hostility and aggression, which bring him into conflict with the world around him.

Conflict is a normal phenomenon of growing up. It is possible to overestimate the destructiveness of conflict. Indeed conflict is necessary to the development of a healthy, effective, integrated personality. The person who has not learned to handle his conflicts as a child will be unable to meet successfully the conflict situations that are an inevitable part of adult living.

There is, however, another side to this picture. All too many children fail to learn to handle their conflicts in childhood. They emerge into adult life crippled by resentment toward authority, rejecting the values and standards of the community, fighting back against the community. Among them are numbered a large proportion of the community's delinquents, criminals, and antisocial individuals. Or they emerge into adult life filled with anxiety concerning the attitudes of the community, accepting its values and standards, but personally ineffective, neurotic.

These are the children who find their way, through court or clinic, to the mental hygienist. As he watches them thronging past, year after year, the mental hygienist wonders whether the community is not paying too high a price for character. The mental hygienist recognizes the necessity of character. He recognizes that group living is impossible unless the community can build its standards and values into its growing members as character. But he wonders whether a way might not be found to build character, in the wake of which would follow less maladjustment and misery. He is hopeful that such a way will be found, as the school, with understanding and knowledge, undertakes consciously and planfully "character education."

III

The community, from time immemorial, has met the resistance of its growing members with what W. I. Thomas calls "the ordering and forbidding technique." It has said "do" and "don't." It has met resistances as they arose, with a precept in one hand and a whip in the other. It has met aggression with coercion. The fact that much of its adult code had little meaning to the child, was arbitrary and inscrutable, has rarely concerned the community.

The school has, by and large, employed the technique of the community. It has perhaps used precept more generously—as those of us who were brought up on McGuffey's incomparable readers well know. But when precept proves ineffective, the school also resorts to ordering, forbidding, and coercion. Wickman's recent study, *Teachers' Attitudes and Children's Behavior*, amply demonstrates this fact. And the school, like the community, pays too high a price for the character it achieves.

Now, we long ago discovered reading, writing, and arithmetic cannot be taught by ordering and forbidding—that they must be related to the living interests of growing children, and that this is best done through an activity program. Yet it is amazing how frequently one finds a school where the traditional subjects have disappeared to emerge as parts of an activity program, only to find that character education is still taught largely by precept. The materials that embody precept are ingeniously devised, intriguingly prepared, and written in the language of the child's experiences. But still the attempt is to trick the child's interest, rather than to afford him an opportunity to live his way into character.

If the child is to accept the code of the community, he must find that code satisfying in his day-by-day living. He will not find that code satisfying if his encounters with it result largely in the arbitrary disruption of his activities. He will find it satisfying only as community and school planfully provide experiences in which the

standards and values of our culture contribute to satisfying group living.

When community and school provide such experiences, we will have the right to talk of character education. At such a time, the mental hygienist believes, character will be achieved at the cost of less conflict between child and community, at the cost of less anti-social behavior and neurosis. Character education will not be, cannot be, however, the special province of the school. The school can play a significant role, but perhaps not the most important role. Character is the result of all those experiences through which the growing child comes into contact with the standards and values of the community.

Crowded conditions of tenement life, the recreational life of the city's streets, the antisocial values too frequently presented by newspaper, radio, and motion picture—these provide experiences in the living of which the community's values are unlikely to prove satisfying. The school that would talk of character education must look beyond the experiences it offers the child to a place in a coordinated community program for character.

SOME FEATURES OF THE DENVER PROGRAM OF CHARACTER EDUCATION

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AUTHOR'S NOTE. The reader may legitimately ask: "If you don't have a character-education program, why this article?" It is true that we in Denver do not have anything that we customarily point to as our character-education program. But the matter goes deeper than that. The development of character certainly is one of our major objectives. Therefore, we must have some plan or program that is designed to achieve this objective. Whether or not our plan or procedure is likely to achieve our objective with desirable efficiency, we will leave to the reader to judge, pending the development of more adequate techniques than we now have for appraising results.

"What is your program of character education?" is a frequent question. The Denver educator is likely to make one of two replies: "We don't have a formal program, character education is informal or indirect," or else, we quote the words of a principal with deeper insight, "We don't have anything else but."

THE WAY IT WORKS

Here are replies typical of those given by principals and teachers when asked the above question. An elementary-school principal stated with emphasis: "I tell my teachers constantly that I don't give a snap of my fingers about reading and arithmetic unless they come after learning to live together decently. In my district the fellow quickest and most effective with his fists has commanded the most respect. Gangs have dominated much of the community life of the younger people. Instead of talking about this, we try to help the children apply good principles of cooperation in all classroom and school activities—the sharing of materials, working together on

common projects, getting together in a friendly spirit when differences arise. We think we are getting results."

A senior-high-school teacher responded: "The whole program is aimed toward meeting the pupils' needs, individual and social. Character education is an integral part of all this. We are constantly alert to sense individual and group difficulties and needs in behavior as well as subject matter. We are constantly dealing with these problems both in groups and individually."

Another senior-high-school teacher affirmed the above idea and added: "For example, yesterday the audience in assembly was terrible. The next period in my class we just dropped everything else and analyzed that situation. The remarks I heard at noon indicated that many other teachers had done the same thing. Again, I was observing my homeroom class in another situation, and felt that their responses were not consistent with the objectives which we had adopted. The next time the class was in my room, we laid our cards on the table and talked through the situation."

ARE WE KIDDING OURSELVES?

But what do such statements really mean? It is easy to hide inadequate planning behind the rationalization "character education is informal or indirect." Since good character is an objective of education, should we not plan for it and proceed with some sense of direction toward its realization? On the other hand, to say that desirable character is the objective of the whole school curriculum might easily be one way of begging the question or dodging the issue. Let us analyze these generalizations a bit further.

In the first place, let us check our vocabulary. Informal is not a synonym for indirect. A formal class in ethics or citizenship and the informal discussion of auditorium conduct cited above are both direct attacks upon behavior and character development. They differ in respect to certain characteristics of planning and procedure; but, make no mistake, each is planned and well planned, if it is

effective. Notice the high-school teacher's reference to "the objectives which we had adopted."

Methods that are indirect produce their results without directly dealing with behavior or behavior objectives. A healthy, wholesome environment will indirectly contribute much to desirable character; but, granted the best of environments, it would seem absurd to consider the possibility of educating children without dealing directly at many times with questions of behavior and its social and moral implications. Therefore, if we are clear in vocabulary and thinking, we will recognize that informal and indirect methods in character education, if effectively used, will involve well-formulated objectives and well-planned procedures.

In respect to the claim that the whole curriculum aims at character education, we must again be sure that we are using the same vocabulary. Here character is given a very broad interpretation. The man of desirable character is here interpreted as one who is well equipped with the attitudes, purposes, behavior patterns, knowledges, and skills that will ensure his effective functioning in his social environment; in other words, an equipment that will enable him to pursue successfully "a way of living that conserves and produces as many values as possible for as many persons as possible over as long a time as possible."¹ To say that a school curriculum aims to facilitate the development of such individuals is surely to set up a worthy objective and one as tangible as any single general objective can be made.

In the remainder of this article I shall attempt to describe some of the major considerations that perhaps justify the Denver educator in saying that his whole program is a character-education program. May I say in the beginning, however, that any such claim is made with humility. We are very much aware of many deficiencies. Educators from many other systems could make the same claim, perhaps, with even more justification.

¹ Tenth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association 1932, p. 59.

TEACHER HOLDS KEY POSITION

One of the most important considerations is the character of the teaching staff. The Denver school system has for sixteen years operated under a single salary schedule for its teachers. Under such a schedule, teachers with equivalent training and experience are paid the same salaries, whether they teach in senior high school, junior high school, elementary school, or special school. Thus just as good teaching talent is attracted to and held in the elementary schools as in the high schools. The salary schedule is high enough to attract good teachers. Tenure, sick leave, and pension provisions are well above average. Encouragement is given teachers to continue professional study and growth. A survey of 1933 showed that 74 per cent of all teachers in the Denver schools had four years or more of formal education above high school as compared with 34 per cent for the country as a whole. In our elementary schools 54 per cent of the teachers meet these qualifications as compared with 12 per cent for the country as a whole and 22 per cent in cities of 100,000 population or over. Furthermore, 24 per cent of the training of our elementary-school teachers was secured after their appointment to the Denver schools. This is only a part of the story, of course. These facts are cited as illustrative of an earnest effort to secure a staff of competent, well-trained teachers and to give them reasonable economic and professional security.

DEMOCRATICALLY ADMINISTERED CURRICULUM ESSENTIAL

Next in importance to the teaching staff stands the curriculum of the schools. Throughout the last fourteen years the Denver schools have consistently and aggressively attempted to develop curricula that more adequately meet the living needs of our children and youth. In 1927 we said: "On the whole the dominant note in the philosophy of the Denver curriculum committees undoubtedly has been that of pupil growth through purposeful activity in life

situations, looking toward the acquisition of the best that the social inheritance has to give with reference to full and complete living in the world today."² We still have much to achieve before we shall have put our philosophy into general practice, but the philosophy has made a very great difference. The comments from principals and teachers cited at the beginning of this discussion are submitted as evidence. Let us notice a few more illustrations of this philosophy.

For one thing, this philosophy has made us more and more sensitive to the present life needs of our children and youth. Frequently we make studies of our own in relation to this problem; we watch for the researches of others; we observe our children, compare, and experiment. In relation to experimental classes in our senior high schools, last year we formulated this statement regarding the needs of youth which are a product of the present social scene.³

1 Youth find it difficult to feel that they are having any part in the real activities of a society which is so organized that most adults engage in highly specialized occupations in which young people cannot share . . . Schools have in part become places where pupils are kept away from "real life" experiences.

2. Youth live in a society where purposes, methods, and abilities are in doubt. . . They want some security and they need a glowing faith in the rightness of life's essential purposes if they are to experience the normal, healthy, attitudes of youth.

3 Youth share with adults the vocational insecurity of our society . Youth tend to be fearful of the future; they feel themselves in danger of being denied the normal activities of adult life. a job, vocational advancement, marriage, a home, children, economic and social security.

4 Youth are the prey of direct, but often blind, action groups with all sorts of interests and purposes which seek their loyalty, groups wishing to return to the glories of the past and groups wishing a Utopia in the future.

5 Some unscrupulous advertisers seek to develop a fear psychology

² *The Denver Program of Curriculum Revision* Monograph No. 12, 1927, p. 21

³ Denver Public Schools, *Handbook for the Application of Progressive Education Principles to Secondary Education*, September 1936, p. 1

among youth making them fearful and insecure as to their personality, health, speech, skin, breath, hands, finger nails, teeth, manners, general appearance, and social position. The unhappiness attendant upon self-consciousness and imaginary fears is a very real danger to mental health.

6 Youth is the victim of those multitudinous opportunities to fritter away time which mark our present civilization.

When we add to these and other problems which have their origin in our particular social structure the needs of youth that are true of any age and time, we have the basis of a curriculum that cannot in any of its phases dodge the demands of character education. Character functions in meeting every life situation. Wise and skillful education provides a curriculum in which pupils have opportunities to meet these life problems under conditions that are favorable to success, to growth, and to desirable character development.

Another illustration of how this curriculum philosophy affects our program will be found in a growing effort to integrate more effectively the life of the pupil in the school and in the community. Visits of classes and committees to business, civic, and cultural points of interest in the community are of growing significance. At the junior-high-school level, we are finding help in the study booklets of the Civics Research Institute. These outline plans and procedures for coöperative study of community civics through actual study of the community itself. We have used them experimentally in several classes and plan an extension of their use.⁴

In one of our senior high schools last year a 12A class experimented in spending the afternoon of each day for seven weeks in gaining vocational experience in offices, workshops, hospitals, teacher-training institutions, and the like. A background had been prepared for this during the previous year, and after the experience a careful summary of the results was attempted.⁵

⁴ *A Cooperative Study in Community Civics*, conducted by the Civics Research Institute, 3506 Patterson Street, N.W., Washington, D C

⁵ Denver Public Schools, *A Report of an Experiment in Vocational Guidance at South High School*, September 1936.

Coöperative planning of class and school activities, often co-operative planning of the entire semester's program of a class, coöperative appraisal of activities, class projects that involve coöperation from parents—this is often particularly interesting and helpful in foreign neighborhoods—are examples of other ways in which we have attempted to apply our curriculum philosophy. For example, a group of high-school girls requested a class in home-making. At the first meeting the possibilities of such a course were presented and discussed. The girls were asked to talk with their mothers that night and to bring to the next meeting of the class the suggestions that they and their mothers would like to present. The next day these suggestions filled the blackboard and the class sorted them over and organized them into units for the course. The teacher testified that the course adequately covered the possibilities and the pupils pursued it enthusiastically for it was in truth their course.

One more comment on the curriculum may be helpful. Last year a committee attacked the job of formulating guiding principles and objectives for the classes in our senior high school that are experimenting in the development of a more adequate high-school curriculum. The three basic goals which the committee adapted from the Sixth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence show again the effect of our curriculum philosophy. They were stated as follows:⁶

1. Consistent growth in the ability of the individual to adjust creatively to his own inner life, to recognize limitations, and to build out of his powers and interests an integrated, enriched, and resourceful personality
2. Consistent growth in the ability of the individual to live well with others in personal, civic, economic, and all other relationships
3. Consistent growth in the ability of the individual to adjust creatively to the world of nature and its laws

What phases of character education are likely to be omitted in the development of a curriculum that seeks the fulfillment of these

⁶ Denver Public Schools, *Handbook for the Application of Progressive Education Principles to Secondary Education*, September 1936

objectives? We do not yet have such a curriculum. We have some of the elements, perhaps, but there is still much to be done.

THE PROBLEM OF APPRAISAL, RECOGNITIONS, AND AWARDS

Another phase of an educational program that contributes vitally to the shaping of character is that dealing with the evaluation and appraisal of progress and achievement. What kind of behavior is recognized, praised, and rewarded? How is recognition bestowed; how are rewards granted? With what do the home reports deal? If practices in these matters could be brought into harmony with curriculum philosophy, we would, indeed, be making progress.

General practice in the Denver schools is quite traditional in these matters. Many experimental studies, however, are under way, one of which will be described briefly for it holds much promise. It is in operation in about fifteen classes in our senior high schools and in a limited number of junior-high-school and elementary-school classes. It is an attempt to make appraisal of educational growth and achievement a procedure in which pupils and parents cooperate with teachers in the keeping of a coöperative Educational Record. Not only is it cooperative, it is also more comprehensive. It accumulates data over the entire high-school period of six years. It attempts to deal with all the major objectives and areas of education; and data are used more directly, and again coöperatively, in planning future educational activities of the pupils.

The forms are made up into a sizeable booklet bound in a special filing folder and kept in a filing case in the homeroom where the pupils spend a class period of each day. The homeroom or counseling teacher considers that the activities involved in keeping and using these records are an important part of the curriculum experiences of pupils. The following types of data are gathered and recorded on appropriate forms covering grades 7 to 12:

1. Informal educational activities and experiences; interests and plans
2. Formal classwork and school marks

3. Standardized achievement test data
4. Appraisal in respect to ten general behavior patterns
5. Information concerning home and family
6. Record and appraisal of books read
7. Informal comments by teachers
8. Informal comments by pupils
9. Informal comments by parents
10. Teacher's summary in relation to the basic goals (listed above)

The pupil keeps his own record under the supervision of the counseling teacher. About four times a year he takes the entire record home for parental inspection. Certain other types of data and summaries from these pupil-kept records are recorded on the American Council Cumulative Record Cards for the official office record.

This whole procedure is still in a highly experimental stage, but it is consistent with the curriculum philosophy which we are seeking to apply in Denver. Its possibilities for character education are very great in the hands of teachers of proper qualifications.

TYPE OF LEADERSHIP IMPORTANT

There is one other general aspect of the Denver program that merits attention in this brief survey. Desirable character development is a dynamic process involving initiative, problem solving, creative attack upon puzzling situations, ability to gather and use data constructively. Pupils are much more likely to develop these attitudes and abilities if guided by teachers who, in turn, are encouraged to meet their own problems in like manner. The encouragement of democratic procedures, of creative experimentation, and of initiative in meeting educational problems has been at a high level in the Denver schools. There is still much to be desired, of course. Democratic techniques are still crude and inadequate in our society, and schools are no exceptions. But educators surely should be in the forefront in their mastery and use of democratic techniques and leadership. Denver has been fortunate in having

educational leadership of this character. The results can be seen throughout the system in teachers and pupils. It is a major factor in the indirect phases of Denver's character-education program.

SUMMARY

Thus the Denver program of character education does not involve formal courses or classes in morals, behavior, or citizenship. It does involve, however, a direct but informal attack upon the problems of character development through a curriculum of classes and school activities that attempts to help pupils meet more effectively and worthily their daily problems of living. It attempts, further, the creation of an environment conducive to healthy, wholesome character development. It is built upon the hypothesis that the most important factor in such an environment is a competent, well-trained, democratic teacher who enjoys a reasonable degree of economic and social security, and who is inclined to face professional and personal problems creatively and with courage.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES TO CHARACTER EDUCATION IN THE DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Threlkeld, A. L., "A Special Curriculum Is Not Needed for Character Education," *The Nation's Schools*, XI, 13-16, April 1933

The Journal of the National Education Association beginning in October of 1930 and continuing through June of 1931 published a series of nine articles describing phases of the character-education program in Denver. The titles appeared as follows. "A Survey of Character Education in Denver," "Character Education in the Kindergarten," "The Report Card in Character Education," "Methods in Character Education," "Environment and Character Education," "Character Education in the Whittier School," "The Guidance Program in Denver," "Citizenship in the Junior High School," "Activity in Character Education,"

NEW JERSEY'S PROGRAM OF CHARACTER EMPHASIS IN EDUCATION

ERNEST A. HARDING

New Jersey State Department of Education

What are the problems that would be profitable for a State committee to explore in a study of the forces at work on a child which affect what he is becoming?

What does educational method do to a child which should or should not be done to him?

If we think of the child as an organism which grows through a unitary process in which the physical, mental, and nervous factors are at work in close reciprocal interaction, what is the significance of active, participating experiencing as the core of the school offerings?

What needs further to be done to equip teachers with sufficient knowledge in the field of mental hygiene to cause them to view child behavior dispassionately, objectively, understandingly, and grow in the ability required to be artisans in child nurture through more thorough acquaintance with child nature?

Of what significance is the teacher's own mental health in relation to what changes are taking place in children?

Who is the juvenile delinquent mentally, educationally, physically, socially? Why is he as he is and what can schools do about it?

How can all teachers, all subjects, all parts of the school day contribute more fully to the acquisition of and the guided practice in the use of the desirable standards and values which constitute the functioning self called character?

What are some of the features of social life, of the many environments in which a child lives that destructively affect what he is becoming?

How can a State committee exploring these and many other allied questions effectively encourage on a state basis the modifica-

tion of practices that destructively affect most desirable personality growth?

These were a few of the many areas beckoning for exploration as the New Jersey State Character Education Committee began its series of deliberations and studies two years ago. The committee, which was initiated and appointed by Dr. Charles H. Elliott, State-Commissioner of Education, has published two documents and is now at work on two additional reports to be published in April and in November 1937.

The committee agreed at the outset that there was no single approach which would deserve being considered a program of character emphasis in education. It appeared evident that a great many approaches must be carried on simultaneously. With these in mind the following guiding principles were agreed upon as a base from which the committee might proceed with its task.

1. Provide all school people in the State with an opportunity to participate in the developing program
2. Set up in the first bulletin a tentative approach that would tend to stimulate the school groups throughout the State to self-activity and to contribute something to the program
3. Consider promising directions of effort that fall within the more or less exclusive sphere of functioning of the school itself
4. Also consider desirable areas of effort having to do with conditions surrounding the child's daily life in which the school has a shared responsibility with other social agencies

A brief organization of Bulletin No. 1 is as follows:

1. Foreword by the Commissioner of Education
2. What the committee plans to do
The committee realizes that there is no *one* place where the individual receives or can receive character education, for wherever life is lived the process goes on
3. What can you do?
This section is addressed to persons in the major types of school positions.

4. Guiding principles

5. What is character?

Good character is best formed by exposing the individual to increasingly better and higher standards and values in action situations, which challenge the interest of the individual to such an extent and in such manner that he will accept for himself and make a part of himself the new or better standards or values.

Knowledge of a standard or value is not enough. Acceptance as a part of oneself of a standard or value is not enough. In order that desirable standards may become more permanently and more deeply a part of oneself rich opportunity must be given for exercising these standards and values with satisfaction to the individual in situations that arouse the active interest of the individual.

Such exposure under favorable conditions for acceptance and such exercise in applying one's standards and sense of values are effective in developing desirable personality and character to the extent that these situations provide the individual with opportunities on progressively higher levels of difficulty and complexity for situation analysis, decisions based on sound elements in a thinking process followed by numerous applications in meaningful situations after the "catching-hold" exposure experience.

By character, then, we mean the organized aggregate of one's tendencies to action considered with reference to standards of conduct and the values involved. Since all experience is educative, character is always in process of change and formation.

The individual builds standards of conduct as he learns to define, recognize, and accept the varying kinds of response demanded by varying types of situations. He builds his general moral outlook as he learns to act upon an even clearer insight into what is involved for himself and others in his own and others' conduct. There must here go together both insight and acceptance for appropriate action if the moral character is to be built; one without the other is immoral. The individual builds moral habits as he learns to act thus thoughtfully upon his ever-growing standards of conduct. Since character is the organized sum of all, he builds character as he interactively builds the better general outlook, better standards of conduct, better judging of situations, and surer action upon his

best attainable insight. If these things be successfully done in true interaction, there will surely follow appropriate habits and appreciations and surer sensitivities to values involved

It is idle and worse to suppose that character can be built in any satisfactory fullness apart from action in life and its concrete situations. The school must provide such life, fairly full life too, not at the rawest to be sure but still not too sheltered. Character grows from the successful facing of situations that ever increase in difficulty and complexity.

6. Can public schools change character?
7. Case studies and incremental records
8. Bibliography and book reviews
9. Forms on which school executives, supervisors, principals, and teachers might report individual and group case studies, as well as reports on various teaching procedures that proved effective in desirably modifying behavior.

The second bulletin published consisted of a classified bibliography on character education for those who wished to carry on a study of one or more problems involved. This bulletin of seventy-one pages grouped references under the following headings:

1. Books and articles on character education
2. Mental hygiene, psychology, psychiatry
3. Various school subjects and educational method in relation to character education
4. Educational guidance
5. Social usage
6. For parents
7. Tests of personality and character
8. Coordinating community councils of social agencies

Bulletin No. 3 which is being published this spring will contain the following types of material:

1. Individual case studies

Individual case studies selected from a great many that have been sent in from numerous school systems from every county in the State. The committee is editing and arranging these case studies so that they will be of greatest help to the users of the bulletin in dealing with more or less similar problems which they face.

2. Group case studies

Again the material in this section consists of reports from the field on group situations of a great variety, with a description of the procedures used to control and guide the situation constructively

3. Techniques and procedures

This section will contain reports on techniques and procedures used both in elementary schools and high schools, which were so handled that they provided as full an opportunity as possible for children being exposed to worth-while values and standards in situations that were interesting to them and in which pupils gained opportunity for actively exercising with satisfaction these worth-while values and standards.

The last in the series of reports projected will be published near the end of 1937. Studies are now in progress which will furnish material of three kinds for this bulletin:

1. A study will be reported which is attempting to answer three questions:

- a) Who is the juvenile delinquent in New Jersey physically, educationally, mentally, socially?
- b) Why is he as he is so far as can be ascertained from a study of all available facts on his case?
- c) What significance have these findings for schools?

Already one interesting finding indicates that 49 per cent of the delinquents studied have failed of promotion in the elementary school at least three times

2. A group of reports indicating how school organization itself and the various school departments may utilize as fully as possible all opportunities for setting up and guiding situations that best tend to the acquisition and satisfying practice of desirable standards and values.

3. A check list of school practices is being developed in such manner that it may be used by school authorities as an analysis device in detecting points of strength and weakness in the school program with reference to their effects on the developing personalities.

Professional groups in the State have produced excellent reports allied closely to the emphases encouraged by the work of the Character Education Committee. Three of these reports are deserving of special mention.

The New Jersey Elementary Principals Association issued a report of an extensive study a year ago dealing with the problem of reducing pupil failure. The crushing sense of failure experienced by many children, resulting in many cases from failure to be promoted, has been known for some time to have a powerful effect on the developing personality. This report consists of a very comprehensive study of the causes of pupil failure and contains many helpful suggestions in dealing with the problem. A study of certain facts concerning 50,000 pupils in representative communities in New Jersey made by the writer constitutes the basis for a part of the recommendations of this report.

In cooperation with the State Character Education Committee the New Jersey Elementary Principals Association has just issued a report on school and community relationships entitled, "The School in Community Council." An interesting research study describes the nature of the various coöperative enterprises between the schools and the other social agencies in the community. Descriptions of the aims, organization, and procedures of a number of typical councils of social agencies and juvenile-delinquency councils lend emphasis to the need and value of a realistic coöperative approach to the task of filling some of the unfilled or poorly filled needs of youth.

A report of the Secondary Teachers Association which was prepared by a committee of the State Mental Hygiene Association deals with behavior problems in the secondary school. The mental-hy-

giene emphasis which is evident in many parts of the reports of the State Character Education Committee and in this report on behavior problems is also evident in the increased offerings in this field given in both in-service extension courses and in preservice courses in the State teachers colleges in mental hygiene.

The foregoing statements indicate among other things that, in the effort to improve the conditions under which personality and character might best develop, the program in New Jersey envisages many rather dynamic and realistically approached lines of attack.

The last question which this paper will attempt to answer has to do with the extent to which the program, as it has been developed thus far, is "catching hold." The following are a few of many indications that the program is catching hold.

1. Over two thousand individual and group case studies and other reports have been voluntarily submitted by many school districts in every one of the 21 counties of the State.

2. In some counties many meetings of county principals' associations, county institutes, and local faculty meetings have had their programs built around questions growing out of the character-emphasis concept.

3. This year in one city of 100,000 population, the faculty meetings for the whole year will center about analyses of the school program and the development of improvements growing out of the character emphasis in aim and method.

4. Many superintendents and principals report the initiation of local studies and activities which they do not believe would have been carried on but for the stimulation of this developing State program.

5. The work of the committee has evoked the interest of the State Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations, service clubs, etc., many of whom have appointed State and local character-education committees in order that they might also supplement the program in the schools.

6. One important indication of the interest aroused lies in the fact that the demand for the materials developed by the State Character Education Committee has exceeded the supply available.

COÖPERATING WITH CHARACTER-BUILDING AGENCIES

ELIZABETH R. PENDRY

Educational and Vocational Guidance Counselor, New York City

"Yes, this is the guidance counselor speaking. Oh, you're the new director of social activities for the local branch of Henry Street House. I'm glad to hear from you. We are so grateful to you for your help to Mrs. Peters last week. I should have called you. Yes, Bob is back in school and says his mother is much better. Oh, it was the supervising nurse who sent her. You and she want to call on the school? Do come. What for? To see what activities we in the school think are needed in this community? You want to start new clubs, and you'd like our suggestions. How grand! Come Thursday, do. I'll arrange with the principals of both my schools. Could you be here at eleven? Then, we'll lunch together and you can go with me to the afternoon school, the girls' school. May I ask the local high-school guidance counselor to lunch with us too and the district supervisor of health counselors? Yes? Fine! By the way, did you see the girls' activity survey for the district? Yorkville civic council secretary, at Lenox Hill House, will gladly send you one. That shows many current needs. Junior League made it for us—very reliable. I'll see you Thursday."

The counselor hung up the telephone. That was the first time in her ten years of New York City school life that an outside agency had planned to call to offer help and to ask direction from the school. She had often called the outside agencies and found them ready and able to respond. But, she wondered to herself, do we, the schools, wear a "know-it-all" attitude, an atmosphere of self-sufficiency? Is that why no one has ever telephoned before to offer help in the community life and to ask our suggestions thereto? Perhaps we are broadening. I hope so; and adding a little humility to our virtues.

Yes, the schools are broadening and recognizing the fact that alone they cannot solve the problem of youth and adults today. For, indeed, it is a problem of adults as well as of youth; parents who are discouraged, defeated, suffering from inferiority complexes in the complex pattern of human problems around them; business men, too crowded with fears to give attention to bungling, young untaught, and impatient employees; teachers and schools, crowded with classes, unable to carry out the theories they know, but cannot take time to apply.

What of the organizations? Are they ready and anxious to help? A month or more ago, a letter went out with the following questions and requests:

1. If there is any coöperation between your organizations and the schools, will you state definitely of what this coöperation consists and how it works?
2. What problems or conditions in the schools or in your organizations seem to interfere with cooperative plans?
3. Give suggestions for better cooperation between the schools and organizations; suggestions as to what organization might do and as to what the schools might do
4. Do you feel the work you are to do would be helped or hindered by further cooperation with the schools?
5. Give one or two human-interest stories of character building through wider or better coöperation between schools and your organizations.
6. Do you coöperate with any religions or Sunday schools? If so, how?

The letter was sent to many of the character-building agencies which are discussed in the book *Organizations for Youth* by Elizabeth R. Pendry and Hugh Hartshorne.[†] The response to the questionnaire has been almost 100 per cent. The answers have shown a spirit of good fellowship, earnest scholarship, and frankness. It is hoped that this spirit may carry over into this article.

[†] New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936

In our community life today, there are available these forty or more national, nondenominational character-building agencies with very good programs and staffs, and sufficient good will to carry their work forward over almost every obstacle, in spite of a lack of adequate funds. There are those well-known societies. Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Woodcraft League of America, Boy Rangers, Boys' Brotherhood Republic, Four-H Club, Junior Achievement, Boys' Clubs of America. There are junior programs in adult service or fraternal groups, in Kiwanis, Rotary, Optimists, Lions, and Orders of De Molay, of The Rainbow, or the Builders. There are organizations working in and through the schools, that is, Junior Red Cross, National Self-Government Committee, Knighthood of Youth, Young Citizens' League, and groups with special interests such as the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the National Audubon Society, the School Garden Association of America, the Sportsmanship Brotherhood, the National Recreation Association, the Girls' Service League, the Friends of Boys. Finally, there are the interreligious groups, the "Y's," the Big Brothers and Big Sisters' Federation, etc., and there are also, of course, many denominational groups—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish.

All of the above have character building as their direct or indirect if not their sole aim, and each and every school teacher, counselor, and administrator should enjoy knowing and using their splendid services. But there are also other social institutions whose direct responsibility is character—the churches and the family or home and such civic welfare organizations as have grown up. The school is, of course, organized with the direct purpose of carrying over to the present youth the skills, ideals, and information of the past and the perfecting and adapting of these to useful ends. A concomitant of such a purpose and, it is hoped, a natural result of such education is character building. But character building alone is not the only work assigned to the schools by State laws or by society, al-

though every good teacher will admit that it is never out of his mind a minute in his day, and every school makes many provisions to the end of character building.

What then are the institutions to which the school may turn for cooperation in this forever-in-mind problem of character, and how may they turn?

The local community of Yorkville, a middle East Side section of New York City, affords an example of coöperation which started when the problem of the depression in its first terrible weeks necessitated a rallying of all good forces to organize relief. Today there are some 11 settlements, 23 organizations, 50 churches, 59 schools, 34 hospitals and clinics, and 27 welfare groups, and all the local assemblymen and aldermen working together in a united effort to better a heterogeneous section of some 33 nationalities.

Perhaps the first effort a school may make, therefore, is to gather together at least for a tea-time conference the agencies of the community, or to ask representatives thereof to speak at the teachers' meeting and at the parents' and teachers' meeting, to address the school assembly, or to meet an earnest group of the student organization. Speaking and meeting alone will not suffice, however. There must be organized follow-up on the part of the organizations. In fact, personally, I would prefer to see the organizations take the lead or initiative, and gather the community leaders together, especially to meet the school principals, assistants, and counselors, or activities' directors.

Sheldon and Glueck in *Preventing Crime, A Symposium* attribute much success in crime prevention largely to such coordination of the home, school, church, welfare agencies, recreation programs, police, juvenile court, and correctional institutions. The authors speak of the Los Angeles County Coordinating Council as an outstanding demonstration of the good which may be accomplished by such coöperation. All the youth-aid organizations meet regularly to exchange ideas and plan procedures. As a result there has been

a reduction of the number of juvenile-court wards from 3,991 in 1931 to 1,403 in the first six months of 1934.

In response to the second question of the questionnaire, the suggestion of such reciprocity get-togethers was often mentioned by the organizations, and one suggested that a permanent local council of character-building agencies to cooperate with the local schools should result from these preliminary meetings. It is imperative that some such move be made. The return of liquor to the poorer neighborhood, with its resultant demoralization of the home and of youth, the coming of the depression and its psychoses and neuroses are demanding a definitely planned battle for morality and social welfare. The totalitarianism which has come to other nations with the coming of either communism, nazism, or fascism has taken over to the state, largely, the life of youth to the end of a better disciplined, or better bodied, but perhaps not a better souled youth with a heart bent toward "peace on earth" and the brotherhood of all races, nations, classes, and creeds.

Totalitarianism is certainly not to be desired in America. So long as schools, churches, homes, and club procedures stay separate but function vigorously as *cooperating agencies* democracy's give and take and laws of balance will be preserved. Each and all of these institutions will be safe and secure and youth will be bettered in soul and mind as well as body and ready to live a life of understanding in the fields of the larger brotherhood. He will be ready for that form of self-government which is guided by freedom to hear and will to obey the voice of conscience, independent of dictators' propaganda and crushing political forces.

In answer to question one of our questionnaire, it was found that many organizations mentioned the following as current means of cooperation: the use of school buildings as meeting places or the presence of school administrators in boards of directors or of school teachers as group leaders. Some spoke of annual assemblies in support of their organizations; i.e., Boy Scout Week, Hi Y day, etc., of

speakers sent to special assemblies, of a part in student extracurricular activities, and a few told of individual case referrals.

There are certain legal requirements relative to the equipment of schools, their safety, etc., that make a wide use of school buildings very difficult. Fire laws require that doors and stairways be of such type that they may not be locked from the inside, and this means that often the whole building must be available, if only one room is needed. Darkened rooms and corridors are a moral hazard and temptation to the group that may have come to use only a room or two. Shops and tools, machines and typewriter equipment must be guarded, must be ready for the next day's classes. To open the school building freely to these informally disciplined groups may offer temptations to some of their members.

In many neighborhoods, settlements and church houses are available and should be used to a maximum before the school is utilized. In neighborhoods where there are no settlements, there are usually better type homes in which there are often recreation rooms, and what better place could be found for the local Scout troop? As a Sunday school teacher, I have heard discussed the need for more social life for youth. But as a homemaker, I wonder continually why the homes of the Sunday school children are not offering themselves for club meetings, parties, and social gatherings, which have a rightful place in Sunday school life. I personally believe in the return of more activities to the home, of the revivifying of the home as a place to live and entertain, and I commend to club workers and scout leaders the idea. Very often, a sense of false humility makes the homemaker think his or her home too simple to meet the need. A request from the Scout leader or the club worker would be gratefully received and the hearty cooperation of a parent thereby won. The Four-H procedure of the rural area not only meets in homes but often uses the parents as the leaders. Cub scouting, I understand, has realized this need and uses homes and yards wherever possible. No matter how simple the home, and I have seen many "tenements,"

there's usually a room large enough to take in the scout troop. To help make his home clean and ready for the meeting is often the best skill (and attitude!) a boy or girl can learn. To prepare for and meet the pals of his son or daughter is often a new experience to a parent and one that usually leads on to a better companionship between parent and child. The open house to friends, thus learned at home, may help prevent street-corner or poolroom companionships later on.

I urge, therefore, the wider use of homes and parents as a more important contribution to character building, and, therefore, as a more important matter than the wider use of school buildings and teachers. And may I say that I think this is possible, and base my thinking on ten years of experience in cooperation with the parents of some 20,000 youths in the Yorkville area. But I know the leading into the homes must come from the group leaders themselves. Parents will have to be given confidence and encouragement, as many foreign-born parents do not realize their child's need of the home as a meeting place for friends. Of course I realize that craft and athletic interests may not be satisfied in the homes and a supplementary use of a local settlement, a gymnasium, or a pool and occasional hikes and picnics will be necessary, too.

As to leadership, again may I question the wisdom of teacher leadership for two reasons. Teachers usually need to withdraw from youth groups and to refresh themselves with adults and in new areas. Second, pupils need to find wider loyalties, new inspiration in other persons, entirely separate from the necessarily regimenting procedure of the school atmosphere. Just as a series of books becomes a reading habit and often precludes a child from reading and knowing truly great books and authors with other points of view so a club procedure, teacher led, may preclude the child from finding other great souls with other points of view.

Business and professional clubs of men and women exist almost everywhere and include in their membership those who are lonely

for younger brothers and sisters left behind in the home town. There are people whose lives in business offices and hotel-room homes find no youth contacts at all. These people might welcome the youth leadership opportunities, if solicited by the organizations.

On the other hand, there are groups of young people who have themselves been Camp Fire Girls, Boy or Girl Scouts, "Hi Y's," etc., but who are now looking for upper-teen-age activities, offering them purposeful opportunities, yet good fun. Why not an alumni group for each of the organizations to reabsorb these grown-up Scouts and turn them into youth leaders. Many of these are wandering, ungrudgingly, through life, looking for happiness. They drop into churches, local political clubs, and finally settle down in some social or bridge club, and years later, if there is a spark of service left, they find a Rotary, Kiwanis, or Lions group.

The church into which they wandered in and out is wondering why it does not interest and hold its young people. Why do not the "Y's," the Big Brothers and Sisters, the Scout committee, or any of the executives of the other forty agencies go to the churches and give to their older young people the challenge of helping with this youth-leadership problem? Young church people often need and desire an opportunity to serve in the community, and training for leadership of Scouts or the "Y's," Boy Rangers, Junior Achievement, or Four H would be welcome and would have real substance in it, far more permanent than the usual seasonal charity activities.

I can think of few more revitalizing experiences for all of our churches than a close purposeful tie-up with any or several of these fine character-building agencies. I have attended some church youth leaders' meetings and I think they would welcome the plan as an answer to a "felt need." There are many church leaders who are looking for valuable projects.

Many of the programs of these agencies would fit in with the purpose of any church, and the training in service to humanity thus afforded their youth would be definitely in accord with the aim of

all churches. Already a few of the organizations have successfully sought church coöperation, but probably none has anywhere near fully developed all the possibilities for both church growth and youths' growth therein.

But how about the schools and coöperation? A wider use of home and parents, a wider use of settlements and community centers, and a wider use of church groups will make available to the schools many more Scout troops, clubs, and older youth groups to which to refer their pupils. I shall never forget the utter hopelessness I felt in a community wherein there were plenty of adequately equipped homes and churches but no Scouts, no clubs for youth. Our Juvenile Aid Department, under Mr. MacDonald's direction, has found it out and, at last, something is being started there in the way of a "center." But why was there need to wait for a "center," with homes, churches, Knights of Columbus hall, Masonic halls, and leisure-time parents and youth looking for something to do?

Probably in the Yorkville area, there are five to ten pupils referred daily to some club or settlement by the counselor of the junior high schools—Nos. 30 and 96, Manhattan, Mr. Albert Loewinthan and Miss Elen Nugent, principals. Several times, annually, leaders from the local settlements or from national groups are invited to speak to the assemblies. The annual report of the Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance and Placement, Mr. Charles Smith, director, shows that 3,488 cases have been referred to 984 agencies by the counselors.

One of these counselors, Miss Anna May Jones of Junior High School No. 81, Manhattan, Miss Anna E. Lawson, principal, wrote of her "Leisure-Time Guidance" in *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* for September 1934. In summary, Miss Jones adds:

Through close coördination with local "Y's," Scouts, settlements, churches, and juvenile clubs, it has been possible to arrange for groups of pupils to form their own club such as an Alumni Club. Pupils in Junior High School No. 81, Manhattan, have been introduced to community

activities through parties, motion pictures, and plays in the various centers with the result that about twenty-five per cent became members later. Special problem cases have been helped through coordination of school and community recreational centers. Speakers from such centers have won the interest of pupils especially when exhibits of the activities were displayed in assemblies followed by individual interviews with the pupils most interested in participating as members. Teachers have cooperated whole-heartedly in the various phases of the leisure-time education and guidance program, observing changed attitudes, new interests, and better work habits in class.

There could be an exchange of credit for work done in schools and in clubs. One girl in a club developed a wild-flower hobby, the painting of pictures of them, and finally became especially interested in mushrooms. At graduation time, she plans to leave to her school a valuable collection. Many organizations include in their programs much that could be used to the child's credit in his school and would be welcome if brought to the school's attention by the club leader.

Vocational interests may be explored in clubs. Nautically minded truants are referred to the Sea Scouts, later to the Seamen's Institute, where Captain Huntington so impresses them with the need for arithmetic and algebra in navigation science that they return to school with renewed interest. The result of these excellent contacts has led the counselor to urge that a simple seamanship training program be made available to boys, and I understand such a plan is now being worked out.

Individual club referrals of problem cases of socially deprived or misdirected youth are a part of the daily work of all counselors and teachers. But it is to be admitted that many teachers do not know whether their referrals reach the group or remain and progress therein. A follow-up on the part of the teacher or counselor of some 3,000 pupils is often impossible. Hence a return card, a follow-up on the part of the Scout leader, the club director, etc., would encourage such referrals and often would bring to the school a greater understanding of the good work being done for youth.

The organizations should be led to realize that the schools do desire to coöperate but often do not know which way to turn, and the crowded classroom and school program deter the teacher, counselor, or administrator from doing many things he thinks of for Johnny as he tries to close his eyes at night. I suggest, therefore, that youth leaders call as often as possible at the school, that they be on the mailing lists for notices of parents' meetings, of commencement, of plays, or festivals that they might offer their members in that school as helpers in some activities or send evidence of their members' talents as contributions to some exhibit or festival. May I also suggest that school assembly time may not permit each organization alone to give an assembly period and that, therefore, several organizations or settlements plan jointly to bring their leaders to an assembly, if possible supplementing one another's interest areas.

Wherever I have served in the schools of the country, I have been delightfully surprised at the careful, loving, kindly attitude of administrators and teachers. I think few people realize all the loving kindness and sincere, earnest work for their pupils which the schools manifest. I recommend to all leaders that they become well acquainted with the schools, the administrators, and teachers, so as to help the schools understand their pupils from the point of contact of the club worker, and likewise to help the little club member understand his school better.

Schools sometimes become discouraged in referring cases to certain agencies because there seems to be a great delay in that agency's response. I presume there are many reasons for this delay, but meanwhile the youth is a living, acting, human being and things are happening in his life which sometimes result in tragedy while the school awaits the agency's advice or plans.

Probably one of the greatest hindrances to cooperative activity for youth is due to the fact that certain welfare agencies refuse to take a case because another agency has previously had it, even when the parents, the school, or the church all wish to call into the case the

new agency to help solve the problem. I can thoroughly appreciate the need to avoid duplication of work by various agencies, but if one of these institutions thinks a new agency could be more effective in establishing rapport perhaps their understanding of the case should be seriously considered.

However, the greatest need today is for lay interest in support of and cooperation with the good work of all these institutions, agencies, settlements, clubs, etc. One of our most successful and worthwhile New York City programs for youth is stopping this month for lack of \$10 00 a week to keep it going. It has been helping weekly an average of 900 boys and girls of junior- and senior-high-school age and has had the earnest coöperation and appreciation of the schools. It was hoped some club or group of individuals would give the little bit necessary.

Chambers of commerce, leagues of women voters, civic-welfare clubs, business and professional clubs exist everywhere. Many of these are seeking to do good and could give funds to worthy agencies and programs. But, in addition, they may contain young people who would make excellent Scout leaders, Big Brothers and Big Sisters, Sea Scout, Cub, or Ranger leaders, etc. Two busy people sharing a Scout troop would need to give but little time actually, and yet what joy they would find as well as give in that time.

Then how about an organization of these volunteer workers, similar to the British "Toc H," wherein an exchange of fellowship, ideas, and good fun would make the experiences of doing good for others rebound as a joyful source of good friends and good times for the leaders themselves?

As one who constantly uses the clubs, the settlements, the churches, and the agencies in the community, I am deeply grateful to all for their earnest workers. I appreciate the well-thought-out programs and procedures offered our youth, and I hope that this article may give these workers inspiration and lead them on to further coöperative activities and bring to them the appreciation and support in their good work which they so well deserve.

HOW SCHOOLS BUILD CHARACTER

F. C. BORGESON

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A surgeon interested in the advancement of medical science was intent upon his examination of a very interesting "case." He was completing his diagnosis preliminary to a serious operation. As the examination and diagnosis proceeded and the surgeon became less aware of the patient and more and more fascinated by his problem, the patient began to be disturbed. Finally the patient objected to the treatment received, whereupon the surgeon replied in effect, "I am not interested in you, but I am interested in your disease."

And so it is all too frequently in the typical school and home. We, as teachers, are all too interested in the subjects we are teaching. Likewise, as parents, we are too prone to instill in the lives of our children certain concepts and ways of behavior well established in our own make-up. Consciously or unconsciously we are making of the lives of our children but lengthened shadows of our own selves. Unfortunately such situations are too typical of our inadequate understanding and respect for the total life and growth of the individual child. We have as yet much to learn in this regard.

Respect for child life implies a deeply appreciative and intelligent understanding of the child, his ideas, desires, interests, and abilities. Such understanding comes only from careful observation, study, and guidance. Our first and last function as teachers is not the organization of dissemination of knowledges, classified into subject fields, nor is it the establishment and fixation of academic skills in our pupils, but rather is it continuous and never-ceasing *child study*. The most wonderful thing in all the world is the secret and hidden beauty in each child personality. It is the thing that makes each child a distinctive being. We must seek to find and develop that secret beauty in each and every life in our care. As teachers, this is our first and last charge.

Fortunately we do see about us many fellow teachers who seem keenly aware of the fact that their task is one of directing and guiding the activities of learning and growing children, and that it is not one of teaching subjects or courses of study. In their continuous study and analysis of children they approach the all-round growth idea. Said Henry Ward Beecher:

Education is the knowledge of how to use the whole of one's self. Men are often like knives with many blades; they know how to open one and only one; all the rest are buried in the handle and they are no better than they would have been if the knife had been made with but one blade. Many men use but one or two faculties out of the score with which they are endowed. A man is educated who knows how to make a tool of every faculty, how to open it, how to keep it sharp, learning to apply it to all practical purposes.

Personality has to do with the degree of integration of a self-conscious organism which has the capacity for knowledge, love, and purpose. Thus personality includes character. Popularly, character is regarded mostly in a religious or moral sense. In this sense one's character is the total resultant at any moment of the individual's attitudes and acts which may be labeled either good or bad. His *ethically neutral attitudes and acts do not enter the picture*. This concept is not sufficiently inclusive. The term "character" is also used to denote occupational qualifications, one's rating in certain fields of endeavor, for example, one's character as a lawyer or as a realtor, as well as the possession of odd and generally humorous qualities, as "He's quite a character." Scientifically there is still lack of agreement as to the proper connotation of the word. Distinguished educators do not agree on the fundamental elements of character. Confusion will be less at least if we reserve the word not only for religious and moral traits but also for traits that indicate a person's attitude toward himself, his work, his fellows. In short it may be thought of as a quality and an index of social behavior. Character is growing when the child becomes increasingly aware (con-

scious) of the social significance of his own acts. This awareness is quite different from any self-consciousness of one's own goodness or badness.

Character education is primarily unconscious education. This does not mean purely accidental education, nor does it imply merely incidental education. Clearly, better thinking is pulling away from the formal direct method of instruction. Rather, emphasis is placed upon analyzing desirable situations for character development and surrounding children with such situations. The emotional, as well as the intellectual, factor is being recognized as of paramount importance. Morality is dependent upon the quality, not the quantity, of education.

The understructure of character building then is a matter of proper habit formation. Conduct that labels our character is largely an automatic functioning. For example, just as you unconsciously swerve to the right, apply the brakes, or feed more gas as you worm your way through heavy traffic, so you must be ready to do the thousand and one things that stamp you as well-bred, moral, virtuous, law-abiding. Here as elsewhere the thought process must be reserved for the exceptional occasion—the challenge extraordinary.

With the understructure well on its way, a carefully planned program of character education leans heavily on two things. First, a live program of school life activities in which practice of desired habits is afforded. School life activities are those pupil experiences in which assuming responsibility, making decisions, directing activity, and securing pleasure, by and for the children, are of major importance. Second, either within or without the program of school life activities, carefully planned group discussions and other media through which the child's ability to reason and think things through are established. Two fine bases for group discussions are to be found in such biographical treatments as that provided by Vernon Jones in his little volume *What Would You Have Done?* and in crucial school episodes as they arise from time to time.

Plenty of character problems arise in school life regardless of the

type of community served by the school. Diary data in the Denver Survey revealed "a startling similarity in schools representing the two extremes of society." So marked was this similarity that Miss Anderson of Denver tells us that "... a character-education program may be essentially the same for the child of Judy O'Grady and the son of the Colonel's Lady "

An invaluable little book for teachers interested in trying out this discussion idea is Amelia McLester's *The Development of Character Traits in Young Children*, published by Scribner's a few years ago. For three years Miss McLester conducted discussions with primary-school children for the purpose of developing desirable traits of character. The third year she recorded the topics and responses of children of many of these discussion periods, which are given in detail in her book. "Every discussion had its starting point in some incident which occurred in the association of the children with each other, or was an outgrowth of some specific situation in the school." For example, on the playground children were snatching one another's hats and throwing them about. They were asked not to play in this way. When they returned indoors it was discussed. Another discussion centered around Nell's complaint that the children would not play with her. (She was disagreeable in her play.) Miss McLester's children were never encouraged to watch themselves grow in character, their attention always being directed to the welfare of other people. Character education was never mentioned. Incidents suggestive of outcomes that are at least in considerable part the result of this program are as follows:

1 Joe, in an effort to post something on the bulletin board, dropped a thumbtack on the floor. Rachel saw him looking for it. She helped him search for a while and then said, "I'll get you another one out of the cupboard."

2 One day at lunch there was not enough cocoa to go around. Three children volunteered to give up their share. (Every child in the room looked forward to the day when cocoa was served.)

3 Ned was weaving a rug on a loom he had made. When the rug was

almost finished the loom came to pieces at one end. Janet saw the trouble he was having and offered to help him mend it. The two working together were able to repair it.

4. As we sat down for our reading circle Julien said, "Good night! What a little circle this is! We ought to make it big enough for the other children to get in. . . ."

This method of character education is not what is referred to as the direct method. Yet you can see wherein it is premeditated by the teacher. Perhaps it illustrates an informal direct method. It does not harp on character traits as such. It does not fix a certain period in the day for "character education." The whole day, month, and year is for character building. However, there come periods in the progress of an activity, whether in the curriculum or in the general life of the school, when it is advisable to stop to contemplate and reason about the experience that has been developed, and perhaps for the purpose of forming some tentative generalizations for future procedures. When this contemplation takes place we find the core of our character curriculum in operation.

In addition to group discussions of right and wrong factors in school episodes and in episodes in the lives of great men and women, other commendable procedures in a character-education program might include: teacher records and study of individual children, their home environment, etc. (see Germane and Germane's treatment of the case-study method in their book on *Character Education*); teacher example rather than precept (in the last analysis the teacher is the character curriculum); rich appreciation experiences in music, art, sculpture, literature, nature; opportunity for children to give to others (actual sacrifices); sharing responsibility in the schoolroom and in the school as a whole, and in other school life activities such as clubs, excursions, publications, and purely social activities. Character thrives best, other things being equal, in social institutions where control is self-imposed rather than superimposed.

Questionable procedures and those to be condemned usually

make use of rewards, loyalty pledges, codes, and the like. They tend to cause children to start thinking about themselves, their virtues, and shortcomings. Sometimes it may be necessary to resort to rewards, such as badges, buttons, ribbons, blackboard stars, and honor rolls. But they usually result in "piled-up virtues" to be pinned on one's self, a sort of "Christmas tree morality." Character does not result from extraneous control. It is not difficult to see how essential it is to reduce this type of thing to a minimum, and early to shift interest from badges and stars to the rights of other people.

Behavior problems among children are to be explained in terms of the discrepancies, or perhaps better said, conflicts between the individual's capacities to behave, or again better said, the discrepancies between the individual's actual behavior and the requirements for behavior that are imposed upon him by social forces. "Problem children" tend to evade social requirements either through techniques of withdrawal as in the case of introverts, or through techniques of attack as in the case of extroverts. For example, where the withdrawal technique of fearfulness is used by children to evade behavior requirements imposed upon them by social forces other children tend toward temper tantrums. Some children resort to sulkiness, while others try out disobedience. Where the introvert develops and relies upon shyness, the extrovert responds through overt aggressiveness.

What should be our attitude as parents and teachers toward such problem children and their obvious maladjustment to behavior situations? Insofar as attitudes toward behavior problems of children are personal in character and are responses in kind to the behavior which they seek to remedy, indulgence in them, though gratifying to the adult, is a detriment to the child. For example, when in our treatment of "attacking behavior" we counter with corporal punishment, the result is often stimulation to further misbehavior, and the underlying difficulty of adjustment is increased. When motives of any behavior are truly appreciated the urge of punishing the "bad"

child disappears. *The whole value of punishment depends on its objective employment.* Children are the first to distinguish punishment administered with personal feeling from that intelligently directed. Thorndike tells us that punishment is likely to fail of its purpose nine times out of ten, whereas recognition for good behavior has a salutary effect nine times in ten.

The child's attitudes, ideals, and interests far surpass in importance his knowledges and skills as the basic objectives for which we are striving in our program of home and school education. Probably the basic principle in the establishment of the most desired attitudes, ideals, and interests which go to make up a child's character is that we must train the child with one specific end in view; namely, train him for independence, self-dependence. The "possessive" parent, and likewise the less frequently found "possessive" teacher, is one of the most dangerous factors in a program of character formation and development. If we can but learn to place responsibilities on the child in the home, establish democratic family councils in which children play an important role, the most important step in the proper development of independence and the right kind of self-dependence has been taken. In properly functioning democratically established family councils, the child's voice is heard on important family affairs. It may be in regard to such matters as the child's wisdom in choosing friends, scheduling dish washing, or managing the family budget.

Similarly in school can we never hope to develop the child's social responsibilities unless we place in him a distinct responsibility for social and political welfare within the school. This means nothing short of establishing functioning school democracies in which children cooperate actively with the teachers in the administration of the school. Where school councils have been established and children become accustomed to performing their citizenship responsibilities, there is little new and strange in the experience for them later in life when they are obliged to assume similar responsibilities.

Political corruption, racketeering, kidnaping, and other types of crime waves will not disappear until the average citizen is thus made qualified to function.

Finally, one last word with regard to an adequate program of character building. It has to do again with the child-adult relationship. Some one has said that an abstract idea is like an empty picture frame. Before it can become beautiful it must be impersonated in the life of an individual. Beauty comes only in placing a living picture (the parent, the teacher) in the empty picture frame. We must live the better qualities that we hope to see developed in our children. By eliminating the great wide no man's land between the parent and child, the teacher and pupil (and should we add, the supervisor and teacher?), the child should be able to see clearly in us the great objectives that are consciously being sought in our program of education for life in the home and school.

The fullest respect for child life comes when intelligent guidance and respect permeates all we do and say. Couple with this the skill and knowledge implied in the foregoing discussion, and our program of character development will bear fruit. When love and skill work together, expect a masterpiece!

SOCIOLOGICAL TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC-SCHOOL EDUCATION

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At its Christmas meeting in Chicago, December 29, 1936, the American Sociological Society adopted the following report made by a committee consisting of L. L. Bernard, F. S. Chapin, George S. Counts, Ellsworth Faris, Walter C. Reckless, and Charles C. Peters, chairman.

Exchange of ideas between our committee and representative leaders in public-school education has revealed a strong sense of need on the part of the latter for services they believe sociologists could render them. The desire of both sociologists and public-school educators to cooperate in a service that would be beneficial to both, as well as to society at large, needs only some concrete implementation in order to make it effective. As apparently feasible means of achieving this end, your committee makes the following recommendations:

1. That sociologists conduct researches on problems of importance in education. A survey of completed and published research in educational sociology has been made by a committee of the American Educational Research Association under the chairmanship of the chairman of this committee, which survey will be published as the February number of the *Review of Educational Research*. This lists more than six hundred studies, many of them scientific researches of a very high order of excellence. But there still remain many gaps to be filled, and the aid of sociologists who have a special interest in this field and special competency in scientific research would be welcomed in the attempt to close some of these gaps.

2. That, where this has not already been done, a course, or a number of courses, be set up on the graduate level especially adapted to

the needs of persons in training for school superintendencies, principalships, directors of educational research, and other phases of leadership in the public-school system. Since many of these persons can take only a single graduate course in sociology, we recommend the construction or adaptation of a three-to six-credit course embracing fundamental consideration of as many matters basic to the sociological orientation of educational leaders as time will permit. Often the course in social psychology can be most readily adapted to this purpose. For those who can take more than this one course there should be further offerings on such themes as the family, social control, community organization, criminology, etc.

3. If such courses are to be maximally useful, sociologists who plan and administer them must keep clearly in mind their objectives. Particularly, they must distinguish between the objectives of civic and liberal education on the one hand and those of professional education on the other. It must be remembered that professional education is vocational education. Such vocational professional education should be guided by realistic job analysis of the tasks educational leaders are called upon to perform in their school relations, and its objectives should be specific preparednesses to perform effectively the several elements of the job revealed by the job analysis. If liberal education motifs are to play a part they should be definitely recognized and avowed as such, not sold to prospective members of the class as professional education.

4. We express the conviction that all persons in training for teaching should have included in their undergraduate programs at least one substantial general course in sociology, because as leaders of thought they cannot escape the necessity of interpreting such social phenomena as the mores, social control, social change, crowd behavior, public opinion, and the other group phenomena with which sociology undertakes to deal. Prospective teachers need this training in common with all other intelligent members of society in this period of social reconstruction, and, in our opinion, no particularly

different course is needed by prospective teachers from that needed by all other intelligent members of society.

5. We recommend that the term "educational sociology" be employed to designate a *field* of study rather than a single *course*, and that under it more specific titles be used, as: sociology for teachers, sociology of education, social foundations of the school curriculum, nonschool educational agencies, school discipline, etc. Which of these courses jointly constituting the field of educational sociology should be taught in departments of education and which in departments of sociology depends upon the particular training and interests of the personnel in the local university. Certainly no one who is not thoroughly trained in sociology should presume to teach one of these courses that is primarily sociological in nature, nor should any one who is not thoroughly trained in education presume to teach those which are primarily pedagogical in emphasis.

6. We believe that the inclusion of sociology in the program of training for teachers and educational executives does not necessarily call for change in the certification laws. In both the undergraduate and the graduate program there remains in all States of the Union room enough beyond the legal requirements of certification for the inclusion of sociological training if those who make the local program are convinced that it is worth while. However, this may require replacement of some courses now prescribed by the local authorities but not included within the legal requirements for teachers' certificates.

7. As a technique for getting coöperative action between educationalists and sociologists, we urge a friendly *rapprochement* in particular universities. In those institutions in which there are sociologists who are especially willing and competent to offer courses adapted to the professional training of educational leaders, we suggest that such willingness be made known to the dean of the school of education, and that courses be developed and forged into shape experimentally by the free matching of ideas from both sides. As

such courses prove themselves useful on particular campuses, it may reasonably be expected that the pattern will spread to other institutions.

8. The above paragraphs relate to sociological training for school executives and teachers of other subjects than the social sciences. The committee has taken cognizance of the trend in America to require, for purposes of certification, that persons who are to teach social studies in the high schools shall have had a substantial major or minor in college in this field. We commend this tendency, and urge its extension to all states that have not yet adopted this requirement. But we call attention to the fact that, since the social sciences constitute a very broad field and a properly equipped person for teaching any one of them should have had some training in all of them, a satisfactory major for certification in the social sciences should be larger than that set for some other academic fields.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Because of the pertinence of the following material to the present issue of THE JOURNAL, the regular research material is being omitted.

YOUTH VENTURES

SYLVIA NEWBURGER, *Chairman*

International Student Conference on Crime Prevention

Student delegates from American universities, representatives of foreign universities, and authorities on criminology and related fields participated in an International Student Conference on Crime Prevention held in the Town Hall, New York City, on December 18, 1936, and sponsored by the Undergraduate Student Council of the New York University School of Education.

The conference was designed to serve as the basis of a nation-wide student project by integrating approaches to an understanding of the problem of delinquency and crime and providing a point of departure for student leaders in possibilities for local action.

At present college students in over half the States in the country are organizing groups to secure concerted action by careful methods of procedure in establishing permanent projects and regional conferences, after surveying community resources, assets, and liabilities. The projects, immediate and long time, will be conducted by students with the sponsorship of colleges, social agencies, parent-teacher associations, educational and civic organizations in their respective communities. The student leaders will, in addition, volunteer aid to those organizations which seem to be carrying on the most effective programs with children in the delinquency areas.

In the experts' panel on "Basic Approaches to the Problems of the Prevention of Delinquency," Dr. Bruce Robinson, director of the Department of Child Guidance, Newark, New Jersey, who discussed contributions of psychiatry, showed its importance not only in treating personality difficulties, but in their prevention by more attention to personality development through child training in the home, school, and other groups.

In discussing contributions of sociology, Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher,

associate professor of education, New York University School of Education, viewed the contribution of sociology as the synthetic approach which does not minimize the importance of individual frustration, but places particular emphasis upon the social and cultural explanation of delinquency. "In a delinquent area, the problem would be to redeem the group rather than have the families of all delinquents move out of the neighborhood. Without a demoralizing social environment, even children who are frustrated would not be likely to turn to delinquency because of patterns of prestige."

In his discussion of contributions of roentgenology, Dr. J. Townsend Travers, director of the X-Ray Division of Manhattan State Hospital, stressed the necessity for a complete X-ray examination of the delinquent before evolving diagnosis in order to ascertain possible physical defects influencing behavior, and discussed encephalography, a special air study of the brain which discloses brain shrinkage causing antisocial behavior.

Dr. Shailer U. Lawton, F.A.C.P., director, Medical Department, House of Detention, New York City, in considering contributions of endocrinology in the prevention of delinquency stated that delinquency is largely socio-economic. "Its remedy lies in the direction of applied sociology, education, and economic security. Some cases are, of course, psychopathic, endocrine, and genetic. These, however, are in last analysis in the minority, since most 'glandular' patients never become legally delinquent. Endocrine therapy, therefore, can help in the case of delinquency only in the exceptional instance. The remedy for delinquent behavior does not lie in 'gland pills' nor is it removable by means of the surgeon's knife."

In introducing the experts' panel on "Organizing to Prevent Delinquency," Dr. John Slawson, executive director, Jewish Board of Guardians, stated that crime has largely passed the realm of the psychiatrist, educator, and social worker, and is now the concern of the entire community and the entire social structure, having passed the stage of mere sensationalism. Dr. Slawson noted that college groups should become concerned with crime which is a problem of youth itself, and in assuming positions of leadership in their communities should be responsible for helping to organize community forces for prevention.

Dr. William E. Grady, associate superintendent of schools, New York City, in discussing the school and delinquency prevention showed that schools are approaching the problem when each child is conceived as a

personality in a vitalized curriculum, when an extension of schooling is provided from babyhood to adulthood, and when school is open not merely from 9 a. m. to 3 p. m. "If we concentrated our attention not on the death chair, but on the chair in the classroom, or even on the high chair, there would be greater hope for salvaging . . ."

In discussing private agencies and delinquency prevention Dr. Leonard W. Mayo, assistant executive director, Welfare Council, New York City, stressed the fact that primary responsibility plus teamwork responsibility, with hard work and follow-up, spells the only kind of sound, constructive, fundamental basis for delinquency and crime prevention.

Dr. Lloyd N. Yepsen, director, Division of Classification and Parole, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey, in evaluating the role of governmental agencies in crime prevention pointed out that governmental agencies are developing institutions to supply individual needs for particular kinds of individuals, realizing that differences exist among these deviates. "The next quarter of a century will see this work extended on the basis that has been established and is known to be good."

Dr. Margaret Fries, pediatrician, New York University College of Medicine, in discussing the home and delinquency prevention expressed the opinion that emotional maladjustment is the "germ" of delinquency, while poor sociological conditions, ill health, mental deficiency, etc., are only contributing factors . . . children's inner conflicts can be traced to the parents' own emotional adjustment."

Miss Edith Rockwood, associate in child welfare, Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in discussing child-welfare service, considered the Federal grants within the last year to the States under the Social Security Act for the purpose of developing local child-welfare services in a steadily increasing number of local communities. An experimental study in methods of community organization for the early treatment of juvenile delinquency to cover a three-year period is being made by the United States Children's Bureau in St. Paul, Minnesota, in cooperation with local agencies. A previous demonstration study in the treatment and prevention of delinquency was carried on by the Children's Bureau and cooperating groups in Chicago from 1933 to 1935. The Bureau had for some years been publishing *Juvenile Court Statistics* including delinquency cases which reveal trends.

Dr. Charles Chute, executive director, National Probation Association,

in discussing community coordination and prevention of delinquency, stressed the fact that delinquency is a community problem and as such can best be handled by councils representing all agencies concerned, to compare notes and work together efficiently

Dr. Paul V. West, professor of education, New York University School of Education, stated that "The crime problem is fundamentally a psychological one—having to do with motive forces that produce good or bad conduct. To solve it, we must master the techniques by which proper social attitudes, chief of which is a sense of social responsibility, may be developed. Social agencies have failed to permeate our civilization with right attitudes. Let these agencies cooperate intelligently and the problem will be largely solved"

Dr. Frank Astor, liaison officer between the National Child Welfare Association and Bureau of Child Guidance, stressed the fact that youth should attempt to build a better public opinion as to the approaches and programs of crime prevention.

Dr. Harry Shulman, attending psychologist, Post Graduate Hospital, suggested that the direction in which to work might be better understood if more was known about actual problems and what is being done by various agencies

Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., director, Workers' Education Bureau of America, and Miss Stella A. Miner, director, Girls' Service League of America, made valuable contributions.

In his discussion of popular fallacies in crime prevention, Dr. Justin Miller, chairman, United States Attorney-General's Advisory Committee on Crime, made the interesting comment that it is not merely adult criminals who have records of juvenile delinquency, but all adults "The important consideration lies in the fact that the delinquencies of some children are made the basis for education and orientation in the world about them, while in the case of others delinquency becomes the basis of repeated violations of the social code of conduct and leads on to more serious types of delinquency in adult life. . We have had such a wealth of human material to work with in this country that the many who have survived these methods of education have seemed to justify our educational procedures, especially as the process of justification was indulged in by those whose superiority was established as a result of such educational methods." Dr. Miller discussed "Going to College—A Method of Crime Prevention" as his contribution in the evening session.

Mr. Sanford Bates, director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, in discussing

social treatment of delinquents as crime prevention noted that surveys are discouraging and that, although there are conflicts of opinions, thinking on the matter should be oriented. He further stated that punishment looks behind, and prevention, which looks ahead and means preparation, is the focal point of action. "The kind of social treatment which will lead to protection and have a disciplinary effect must be of a constructive nature. . . The elements of social treatment must be productive constructive work." Mr. Bates suggested that society's attitudes are a significant part of crime prevention.

In discussing adolescent delinquents Judge Anna M. Kross of New York City stated that our entire law is antiquated and should be revised. "The adolescent delinquent who comes into the court is ground out, in 99 per cent of the cases, a full-fledged criminal. The reformatories are colleges of crime. Those things have occurred because from the beginning in the juvenile court the antisocial phase is delinquency, rather than crime, and there have not been provided the necessary weapons of social, medical, and scientific approaches to really check the juvenile delinquent there . . . in 99 out of 100 cases, the delinquent is underprivileged. . . It is society that is really the criminal today in our country. . . The juvenile delinquent is a human being, and must be regarded as such, and the law does not take this into consideration."

The marked tendency in Canada now toward coöperation between theory and practice, with the resultant evaluation, more carefully checked experimentation, and increasing community consciousness, was pointed out by Mr. Jack Anguish, student representative of the University of Toronto, Canada.

In the report considering prevention of juvenile delinquency in France, submitted by the University of Paris, Mlle E. de Lagrange and Mr A. Coste-Floret discussed the decree of May 22, 1936, which established at the Ministry of Justice a "Conseil Supérieur de Prophylaxie," composed of scientists, medical men, jurists, magistrates, and high functionaries, to suggest appropriate measures and methods for progress in crime prevention. The French Government has appointed a "Subsecretary of State for Childhood" who is charged with effective organization in preventing juvenile delinquency. It was stated that French public opinion ardently desires a total program which will be possible with the return of better economic conditions.

In the report submitted from the Academy of Abo, Finland, by Miss

Gunvor Soderling, under the supervision of Dr. Edward Westermarck, it was stated that child protection in Finland advanced considerably after the war in 1918. The importance of family and home in the development and education of children is being increasingly emphasized there.

Tracing the efforts of Belgium toward prevention of delinquency, Mr. Charley del Marmal, student representative of the University of Liège, Belgium, pointed out that his country was one of the first in Europe to have recognized the necessity for child protection. The Child Protection Act, passed in 1912, provided for special children's courts with facilities for case studies and supervision.

In the report of Mr. Henry Halvorsen of the University of Oslo, Norway, emphasis was placed on the necessity for the study of the physical and mental constitution of the individual as a means of prevention.

The report submitted from the University of Lwow, Poland, by Mr. Ludwik Jarzykowski and Mr. Tadeusz Sokotowski, supervised by Dr. Juliusz Makarewicz, traced the basis of the Polish public guardianship of minors decree "in satisfying by public means the vital needs of those, who . . . are not able to do this for themselves, and in preventing the arising of such a situation." The law considers the vital needs of minors as moral, religious, mental, and physical in the necessary preparation for their future self-supporting careers.

The report submitted from the University of London by Miss Mary L. Worth, supervised by Dr. Hermann Mannheim and S. Clement Brown, mentioned progressive educational practices, child-guidance clinics coöperating with courts, special youth hostels, the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency which promotes causation research and educational work, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology which is doing pioneer work in vocational guidance, and concern with economic and social conditions as some of the phases of the prevention of delinquency in England.

In the address by Mr. Fritz Zeiler, student representative of the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, it was stated that the National Association for Child Protection, "Pro Juventute," organized in 1896 gave impetus to modern child legislation in the Netherlands in 1901 which included child-welfare boards acting as a link between governmental and private institutions. Private institutions have a claim to government subsidy if their object is child protection. A compulsory school-attendance law, requiring schooling from six to thirteen years of age, was enacted

the beginning of the century. Mr. Zeiler stated that child protection in the Netherlands has become a matter of social concern.

In the report submitted from the University of Brussels, Belgium, by Mr. Marcel Verschelden under the supervision of Dr. Leon Cornil, it was stated that the first Bureau of Social Readjustment in Belgium, created in Brussels in 1922 and since initiated in other principal cities, had as its purpose the extension of service and coordination of efforts of the departments of public welfare in various townships—a private enterprise, non-profit seeking, of semi-official nature, with its membership for the most part consisting of officers in social-welfare organizations. It is divided into the Divisions of Destitution-Vagrancy, Delinquency, Maladjusted Youth, and Mental Deficients.

Mr. Amor Bavaj, student representative of the Royal University of Rome, Italy, discussed the National Service for Maternity and Child Welfare, the decree of July 20, 1934, emphasizing centers of observation affiliated with courts for minors, scientifically to study and readjust each delinquent . . . "the reinforcement of family life, the setting up of social justice among the various classes . . . by means of a more equitable distribution of wealth, reconstruction of the educational system which tries to spread a formative culture to the greatest extent, improvement of leisure time for the populace . . ." as influences for the prevention of juvenile delinquency in Italy.

In the report submitted from the University of Vienna, Austria, by Miss Ilse Lukas under the supervision of Dr. Roland Grassberger, Public Boards for Youth Welfare, child-protection measures, house-building policies in slum areas, school hygiene programs, guidance clinics, laws protecting juveniles against bad influences—as punishment for any one selling alcoholic drinks, or distributing indecent literature to children under sixteen years of age, permitting their attendance at motion pictures other than ones distinctly authorized as suitable, employing children for hawking, selling newspapers, etc., allowing juveniles under sixteen to loiter about the streets after nightfall, to visit restaurants or cabarets without adult supervision, or to smoke or play cards in public places—were discussed as phases of Austria's program of social welfare.

The board of directors of this project includes the following students: Mildred Buchwalder, Edwin Giventer, Florence Hamm, Edward Norris, Adele Rapp, Harry Slone, Daniel Strelnick, Walter Wilson, Ottilie Hubert, secretary, and the writer as chairman. Faculty advisers: Dr. Julius

Yourman, chairman, Dr. Francis J. Brown, Miss Rhea K. Boardman, Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, Professor Harvey W. Zorbaugh, and Dr. Mary S. Callcott, special adviser.

College students interested in social welfare have a definite responsibility in planning and working together. With a setup permanently established, active participation in welfare work and training in leadership should become an important factor of sociology courses. Success in the project depends upon the kind of leadership and sponsorship each individual group will have.

This is the beginning. From this beginning will grow a student consciousness that will evince itself in practical results, for it will be led by serious students with faith in people and ideals, and will be ripened by earnestness.

Generation after generation, youth dreams of helping cut through traditional apathy—apathy which is characterized by the conspicuous absence of interest from those affected, and from those so confined in their outlook as to be sheathed against the wider implications of basic social problems.

When youth ventures, precedent fades to the point where the past contributes and the future promises the effective solution of present problems.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The readers of *THE JOURNAL* will be interested to know that a thoroughgoing summary of research in educational sociology was published as the February number of the *Review of Educational Research*, the official organ of the American Educational Research Association. This is a hundred-page book with eight chapters, the contributors being David Snedden, Earl Rugg, Walter C. Reckless, Julian Butterworth, Douglas States, and Charles C. Peters, chairman of the committee. The *Review of Educational Research* is now in its seventh year. Each number is devoted to one particular phase of education and the cycles recur about every two or three years. This is the first time, however, that educational sociology has entered the cycle and the committee, which is headed by Frank M. Freeman, has decided to devote a number in each cycle to the subject of educational sociology.

BOOK REVIEWS

Character and Citizenship Training in the Public School, by VERNON JONES. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1936, 404 pages.

Professor Jones reports the findings of a carefully planned and acceptably executed experiment in the field of character education. Three methods of building character were compared in properly controlled situations; namely, the first-hand-experiencing method, the discussion method, and the first-hand-experiencing-plus-discussion method.

Among the chief conclusions of the experimenter are: (1) Demonstrable improvement in character and citizenship of children is possible through planned school instruction. (2) The most successful teaching method is the experiencing-plus-discussion method. (3) The provision of "emotional toning" to learning in the field of character and citizenship is essential. Desirable reactions of the learner must be associated with exhilarating satisfaction if he will seek opportunities of practising similar behavior in other situations. (4) The effectiveness of the various teaching methods differed quite a little from teacher to teacher.

The author is to be commended for the meticulous care with which the experiment is set up and conducted and for the cautious manner in which he draws his conclusions.

Untying Apron Strings, by HELEN GIBSON HOGUE. Chicago, Ill.: Character Associates, Inc., 1936, 125 pages.

This little volume will be invaluable to parents and teachers as an aid in better understanding the attitudes of children as well as their own inadequacies as adults in assisting the young to a more stable emotional life. In the direct approach used by the author the reader is led to face and analyze his own childhood emotional patterns. He is reawakened, so to speak, to the fact that all of us are governed in large measure by our childhood emotional experiences.

Not written for the expert in mental hygiene, this book does give the layman the elementary "common sense" of what the mental hygienist has to offer. While it does not emphasize techniques for diagnosis and treatment of specific behavior problems, it does reveal what may be accomplished through sympathetic and practical understanding of relationships and attitudes in the personality development of a child. The

understanding approach of the author in itself illustrates what is meant by respect for personality, which in turn is the basis for any successful program of character development.

Benes, Statesman of Central Europe, by PIERRE CRABITES. New York: Coward-McCann, 1936, ix + 293 pages.

The past decade has seen a continuously increasing body of literature critically denouncing democratic principles. In interesting contrast to the many volumes on dictators is this excellent analysis of this pacifist, democratic leader of Central Europe—the newly elected president of Czechoslovakia. No man alive today has given more intelligent thought to the meaning of democracy; no man has had more practical experience in translating it into a national way of life. At a time when democracy is subject to so much questioning in America this book should be particularly significant for Americans.

The Crisis of the Middle Class, by LEWIS COREY. New York: Covici, Friede, Inc., 1935, ix + 379 pages.

This book traces the changes of the middle class in the United States from propertied interests aligned with capitalism to a property-less class aligned against capitalism. As in his previous books, the author laboriously analyzes the economic changes and presents a forceful case for the necessity of an economic readjustment in the United States.

American Neutrality, 1914-1917, by CHARLES SEYMOUR. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, vii + 187 pages.

The author attempts through an analysis of diplomatic papers to counteract the false accusations of the American bankers whom he totally exonerates. German submarine warfare was the deciding factor in our entrance into the war.

Mussolini's Italy, by HERMAN FINER. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935, ix + 564 pages.

Although one of the most important recent books in this field and for the most part a fine objective analysis of the ideology and practices of Fascism, it contains many passages of scathing indictment which belie its purported impartiality.

The Ancestry of the Long Lived, by RAYMOND PEARL AND RUTH DE WITT PEARL. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, 168 pages.

In this careful and scientific investigation of the inheritance of human life duration, the authors have suggested a new measureable attribute for an individual known as *TIAL* (Total Immediate Ancestral Longevity). This measure consists of the sum of the ages at death of the six ancestors of the two immediately preceding generations. The distributions, variability, and interrelations of *TIAL* are analyzed for two groups of persons: one consisting of individuals 90 years of age or above and still living, the other composed of the oldest living siblings from sibships taken at random so far as longevity is concerned. The comparisons and interrelations of *TIAL* for the two groups show clearly that heredity is an important factor in the determination of the longevity of the individual human being. On the basis of the comparisons, a conservative estimate of the genetic influence is made.

Fascism and National Socialism, by MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, x + 292 pages.

This comparative study of the economic and social policies of the present regimes in Italy and Germany is in no sense a penetrating work of social or political significance. But it provides an illuminating prelude to any study of present-day events in Germany and Italy. The main interest of the book will be found in what Dr. Florinsky saw and heard in these countries. We thus learn that "history, law, economics, and philosophy have to be taught in the spirit of fascism and national socialism. Some professors still succeed in defeating the strictness of regulations, making use of this subterfuge or that, but their position is precarious, and it is all humiliating to the last degree." Those who have never found time to go through other more specialized books on the topic will doubtless learn from it much that they never knew.

I Write As I Please, by WALTER DURANTY. Simon and Schuster, viii + 349 pages.

The author, who has spent a large proportion of the last fourteen years in Russia, subordinates autobiography to a running description of his years in Russia. He retains the objective point of view of an independent reporter.

Sweden. The Middle Way, by MARQUIS W. CHILDS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, 171 pages.

At a time "old dealers" seek a speedy return to laissez-faire and communists cry for the overthrow of "our archaic economic system," it is well to pause and ask "What is the Middle Way?"

The author does not attempt to answer for America or for any country other than Sweden. His references to other nations are but factual statements of business relations. Rather he describes and analyzes the middle way for Sweden—cooperatives and nationalization of industry under the Social Democrats. Step by step he traces its development from small, individual societies, the formation in 1899 of the Cooperative Union, the hazardous expansion into production as well as distribution and consumption, and its growing power demonstrated in 1932 when it successfully broke the monopoly of the General Electric Company.

Today it has evolved an international character through unification of cooperative in the Scandinavian peninsula, and through exchange of commodities with cooperatives in other nations. They have entered into the production of basic commodities and have built homes and apartments at prices ranging from 25 to 75 per cent of former costs. The Social Democrats swept into power in 1932, have established state monopolies, gained control of power systems, made provision for a pension system which will practically eliminate relief, decreased unemployment, and assured a living income to both urban and rural families. The entire book is a factual presentation showing failures as well as successes, difficulties as well as accomplishments. Although in no sense is it propaganda as the term is usually used, it is in fact more effective propaganda for seeking the middle way through cooperatives and state control.

Liberty vs. Equality, by WILLIAM F. RUSSELL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 173 pages.

This very readable little volume is an earnest appeal for the middle course between the two irreconcilable tenants of our Democracy. Education is the means by which the author hopes to resolve the dilemma. Considering the extent and scope of the literature and the necessity of redirecting it to less than a hundred pages, the author has made an excellent summary of the growth of these two concepts through the American sources and their origins in England and France. After tracing the domi-

nance of liberty in the early formulation of our government, he shows the growing importance of equality, with the public school, the focal point of the controversy, emerging triumphant

With an abounding, an almost blind faith in the efficacy of the public school, the author draws a utopian picture of a land in which both liberty and equality are achieved and concludes that "the passport to this happy land is a liberal education." Unfortunately, however, the author does not indicate the means by which vested interests may be barred from the public schools, nor the agencies through which teachers may acquire the superhuman wisdom to reconcile in practice two concepts reconcilable only in the utopian web of social theory.

A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, by CARLTON J. H. HAYES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, vol. II, xiv + 1,215 pages.

By analyzing "A Century of Predominantly Industrial Society, 1830-1935," Professor Hayes concludes his book. He belongs to that school of American historians which recognizes the possibility, as well as the desirability, of escaping from the narrowly political or economic framework of nineteenth-century historiography and of achieving a broadened cultural interpretation. In this respect, the late Dr. James Harvey Robinson and Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, in addition to others, have produced historical studies which at a time of enforced reevaluation, such as we are at present undergoing, however unconscious we might be of it, are the best examples of the so-called "new" history. Hayes's work is a brave and honest addition to the contributions of this school. It surveys the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and describes the events of Europe from the viewpoint of economic and political liberalism and romanticism and nationalism. The second part specializes in the period of 1870-1914, and the third concludes with the postwar period. Of special value are the chapters dealing with art and religion in the era of realism and the present period of disillusionment, progress and poverty, mechanical certainties and scientific doubt, religion and art in the contemporary world. Select bibliographies are not exhaustive but very useful. All in all, Hayes has little to add to our knowledge of what happened, but he has much to offer on the propelling forces of events and the springs from which they emanated. In this respect Hayes is brilliant without effort and clear without becoming common.

Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases, by CHARLES C. PETERS AND WALTER R. VANVOORHIS. State College, Pa.: Pennsylvania State College, 1935, 363 pages

For the individual who is not thoroughly versed in the calculus, but desires to understand more thoroughly the derivation of the formulas for the statistical concepts used in biological and social investigations, this book will prove exceedingly helpful. It is a fairly successful attempt to steer a midway course between the oversimplified statistical texts, of which there are many, and the more technical works of the mathematicians. After a brief elementary presentation of the calculus principles involved in statistical derivations, the book is devoted to a step-by-step explanation of the mathematical bases of the more common statistical formulas. The authors clearly enumerate the assumptions that have been made in order to reduce some of our formulas to their present simplicity and emphasize the errors that frequently arise through the misuse of statistical formulas on data which do not conform to the assumptions on which the formulas were based. It is unfortunate that minor typographical errors persist throughout the book even though the first printing was recalled for corrections.

The Geographic Pattern of Mankind, by JOHN E. POMFRET; Kirtley F. Mather, Editor. Student's Edition. The Century Earth Science Series. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935, 442 pages.

The title is a clear indication of the plan of this textbook which is designed to serve as an introduction to the social sciences. It emphasizes the patterns resulting from the interaction between man's natural or physical environment and his social environment. The author's concern as a geographer is with location, topography, soils, and minerals as the "fixed" elements in this natural environment, with temperature, pressure, winds, humidity, and precipitation playing the role of variables and so giving rise to certain "climactic types." This is the angle from which he presents the various cultures, recognizing, however, the dominance of "Euramerican culture with its nuclei in Western Europe and the United States."

Principles and Laws of Sociology, by HAROLD A. PHELPS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1936, 544 pages.

As the reader comes to the end of this volume, he is left with two gen-

eral impressions: the almost complete failure of sociology to clearly define its field of study, and the paucity of tangible data as compared with the enormous volume of sociological theory.

This is no fault of the author unless it be the direct result of the thoroughness with which he has attacked his task, "an analysis and criticism of the scientific nature of principles and the content of laws in sociology." For students in advanced courses in sociology and those interested in its theoretical aspects, this volume will prove invaluable.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Roots of Crime*, by FRANZ ALEXANDER AND WILLIAM HEALY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Single, the Engaged and the Married*, by MAURICE CHIDECKEL. New York: Eugemics Publishing Company.
- Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency*, by T. EARL SULLENGER. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Socializing Experiences in the Elementary School*, 14th Yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association.
- Society in Action*, by HELEN HALTER. New York: Inor Publishing Company.
- Statistics for Students of Psychology and Education*, by HERBERT SOR-
ENSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Story of Instruction*, by ERNEST CARROLL MOORE. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Sweden: The Middle Way*, by MARQUIS W. CHILDS. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sex Education*, by MAURICE A. BIGELOW. New York: American Social Hygiene Association.
- Social Case Recording*, by GORDON HAMILTON. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Social Psychology*, by RICHARD T. LAPIERE AND PAUL R. FARNSWORTH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Solving Personal Problems*, by HARRISON SACKETT ELLIOTT AND GRACE LOUCKS ELLIOTT. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Statistical Tables: Their Structure and Use*, by HELEN M. WALKER AND WALTER N. DUROST. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

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EDITORIAL

Research in child development has a long history in the United States. Until recently, however, studies were carried on within different disciplines in almost complete isolation from each other. Specialists in the separate fields of prenatal development, physical growth, dental development, physiology and endocrinology, nutrition, mental growth, and development under social influences were largely unaware of each other's work and its possible bearing upon their own research.

In 1933 was founded the Society for Research in Child Development with the central purpose of bringing together into one organization specialists from all the various fields engaged in child study. Included among these were those persons at work upon the social factors in the behavior of the child in the family, the play group, the school, and other groups and institutions.

At the first biennial meeting of the Society in 1934 this field of sociological interest was represented on the program and the papers presented were published in *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*, October 1935, under the general title "Child Development and Sociological Research," with Walter C. Reckless as editor.

In preparation for the second biennial meeting of the Society held October 30 to November 1, 1936, it was decided to unite the cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and sociologists specializing in child study into one group to be known as the field of personality and culture, and to organize its program on the subject of "The

Social and Cultural Environment of the Child," with special attention to those research findings of interest to workers in the other fields of child study.

Research from the standpoint of personality and culture is the most recent field of study in child development. The papers appearing in this issue attempt in a preliminary way to review the literature, to present standpoints and methods, and to indicate the problems for future research.

In only two phases of child behavior under social influences have there been systematic and intensive studies of child behavior under social influences. The juvenile delinquent has been studied in his ecological distributions, his group relationships, and his cultural patterning. Increasing attention is being given to the observational method of studying the small child in the laboratory in variable social situations.

Other aspects of child development in the cultural setting merit equally intensive treatment by anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists. Among these are age periods of infancy, childhood, adolescence, and youth, the child and his age group, the child at various stages of development in its participation in the family, the school, the church, industry, and government. Much is to be gained by each specialist working upon his own problem in the perspective of the studies of other workers in related fields. One value of *The Child in America* by W. I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas was its service to the orientation of the workers within each discipline to the place of their research in the larger field of child study. The meetings and the publications of the Society for Research in Child Development now contribute to this same function.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

THE IMPACT OF ENVIRONMENT ON THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

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The purpose of this symposium is, I understand, to focus attention on the process of interaction between child and environment with a view to clarifying our conception of how the environment actually impinges on the growing child and how the direct impact of environmental influence can be observed and measured. The fact that a child's behavior is in many respects predetermined by the kind of environment in which he is born and reared is no longer questioned. We know that a child of "poor white" parentage growing up in the isolated mountain regions of Kentucky will acquire a distinctly different set of social and cultural patterns from those of Princess Elizabeth, heir presumptive to the British throne. We know that changes in a child's behavior are likely to result from changes in his environment. We know, in general, that certain types of environment tend to produce certain kinds of behavior, that social maladjustment, for example, is closely related to unfavorable home and community influences. But while we are convinced of the fact of environmental influence, our knowledge of the process by which environmental factors operate is more inferential than conclusive and we are as yet unable to segregate with any degree of precision the specific environmental influences that contribute to the formation of particular behavior patterns.

The perspective from which the problem is considered in this paper is sociological in the sense that we are dealing with the influence of social environment (persons, institutions, neighborhoods, communities, nonmaterial culture) on patterns of behavior toward persons and toward social situations rather than that the discussion is limited to sociological research in the strict sense of the term. The

preschool period has been selected for special consideration because of the conspicuous need for more intensive study of the influence of nonmaterial culture on the social development of the young child. Although the preschool child has been the dominant focus of attention in child-development research during the past ten years, it is difficult to find, in published reports of research, direct attacks upon the problem of environmental influence on the sociocultural aspects of behavior. The few studies of preschool children that have been concerned directly with relating environment to behavior have dealt with such questions as the effect of nursery-school experience on intelligence and physical status, the effect of different kinds of material stimuli on behavior, sociopsychological traits of children representing opposite extremes of socio-economic status, the effect of environment on intelligence and vocabulary tests, personality traits of oldest, youngest, middle, and only children.

The scarcity of attempts to relate environment of sociocultural patterns of behavior in the young child is not surprising when we consider that sociologists and anthropologists, those preëminently interested in these aspects of development, have not been actively involved in the preschool movement. Dorothy Swaine Thomas is probably the outstanding contributor to sociological research in child development at the preschool level whose background of training was in the social sciences. Anthropologists have until recently been little concerned with the American child but have contributed highly illuminating comparative findings concerning the behavior of young children in primitive societies. The inaccessibility of most preschool children for purposes of research is a second factor accounting for the scarcity of environmental studies. The home, the environment in which the young child spends his time predominantly and which is undoubtedly the source of the most potent influences, has been for the most part, and for obvious reasons, barred to research and only a small proportion of the total preschool population is as yet enrolled in nursery schools, kindergartens, or organized play groups. A third important contributing factor is the

definite limitation of methods of research and sources of information at the preschool age. The child's undeveloped powers of understanding and verbal expression preclude the use of many methods that are applicable to older children and adults, as, for example, tests, questionnaires, and direct reports from the subject himself. If we exclude mechanical aids to observation, such as motion pictures, which are extremely valuable in the laboratory but impractical in any extensive study of groups of children in life situations, we must rely either on direct observation of the young child under natural life conditions or controlled experimental conditions, or on second-, third-, or fourth-hand information about the child obtained from those who know him most intimately.

Sociological research on young children has been confined almost exclusively to nursery schools, kindergartens, and play groups, partly because of the difficulty of gaining access to the home and partly because of the exceptionally favorable research conditions afforded outside the home. Since the crux of our problem, however, in so far as the preschool child is concerned, undoubtedly lies in parent-child, child-sibling, and other intrafamily interaction, we need to devise ways of observing firsthand the process of interaction between the child and his family group. Direct observations have been made in the home both by impartial outsiders and by persons unrelated to the child living in the home environment, but further exploration of this approach is needed. The outlook for training parents to make consistent, detailed, and objective observations of their own children is not, on the whole, hopeful, but we can undoubtedly progress further in this direction than we have thus far. The solution suggested by Dr. Dollard in his "research mother" technique has been explored to a considerable extent by workers in the field of child development but with rather uniformly discouraging results.¹ It has the disadvantage of being limited to intelligent, emotionally stable mothers with sufficient time to make observa-

¹ John Dollard, "A Method for the Sociological Study of Infancy and Preschool Childhood," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, October 1935, pp. 88-97.

tions, and with training in the process of observation as well as in understanding of child behavior. The further difficulty of combining observation with participation in the child's activities has been demonstrated. The inability of most mothers to report objectively on the behavior of their own children was pointed out by Dr. Laws some years ago in a study of parent-child relationships in which both parents and outside observers (neighbors and friends of the family) rated the children on the same kinds of behavior.² Thirty-six per cent of the parents gave a higher average rating on all the responses of the child than was given by the observers. Parents are obviously ruled out as sources of information concerning their own relationship with the children. While parents, by and large, are not to be counted on for consistent continuous recording of specific aspects of the child's behavior, they may well make contributions which are both significant and reliable by reporting the environmental setting (as they see it) of new patterns of behavior noted in the child.

Although direct attacks upon the problem of the relationship between environment and the sociocultural phases of development in the preschool child are practically nonexistent, important contributions have been made by indirect approaches. The most frequent sociological approach to the study of interaction between the young child and his environment is represented by the observational studies of the patterning of social behavior in nursery-school children sponsored by the child-development institutes. While these studies have taken the behaving child rather than the impinging environment as a focus, they have contributed both to our knowledge of the direct influence of persons and of social situations on child behavior and to the refinement of methods of research, which is the first step in any scientific investigation of environmental impact on behavior. This type of research has been concerned with the definition of personality and growth patterns in individual

² Gertrude Laws, *Parent-Child Relationships—A Study of the Attitudes and Practices of Parents Concerning Social Adjustment of Children* (Contributions to Education, No. 283) (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927)

children and with the differentiation of normal and abnormal (usual and unusual) patterns of behavior at successive stages of development and under varying environmental conditions. It has stressed the importance of finding out *how* children behave as a necessary preliminary to the study of *why* they behave as they do.

The development of time-sampling techniques of controlled observation, in these studies, is important for the reason that quantitative methods of this sort yield information which is legitimately comparable from child to child and from one environment to another. The reliability of the data derived by such methods, being a function of the accuracy with which the behavior was recorded and the representativeness of the sampling of behavior for the individuals and groups observed, can be readily calculated. These techniques facilitate comparisons of the behavior patterns of different children in the same environment, of the same child in different environments, and of groups of children in different environments. Their range of usefulness can undoubtedly be extended to include a greater variety of situations than those in which they have thus far been applied. They are particularly suited to the study of normal behavior in young children because of the lack of sophistication of the young child and are especially applicable to the study of the incidence of specific social or cultural patterns in homogeneous groups of children, *i.e.*, in the comparison of age groups, nationality groups, etc. Further refinement of these techniques seems to lie in the direction of the substitution of inconspicuous automatic timing instruments for the stop watch and artificial time scale thus far used and increased emphasis on the study of environmental factors affecting the representativeness of the samples of behavior obtained within a given situation.

The direct influence of specific persons on the social-behavior patterns of a child can be clearly demonstrated by quantitative records of this sort. We find, for example, in a group of kindergarten children observed during a work period in which there was abundant opportunity for unrestricted social interaction, children whose

general pattern is one of marked sociability as measured by the frequency with which they conversed with others but for whom one child or the teacher was the dominant stimulus for social activity.³ To cite one example, the kindergarten girl who ranked highest in a group of twenty-four for social talkativeness addressed seventy-two per cent of her social speech to one child. What would have been her pattern of social behavior if this child had not been there, we can only guess. She might have found another bosom pal or she might have been definitely asocial or she might have mingled more extensively with the other members of the group.

The experimental approach, developed most extensively at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, has contributed some highly suggestive results pertinent to the problem of measuring environmental impact on behavior. A study of ascendant behavior in four-year-old children deserves mention as a significant attempt to change social behavior by a definite process of training.⁴ Ascendant behavior, as defined in this study, included "(1) the pursuit of one's own purposes against interference and (2) directing the behavior of others." Five children, defined as nonascendant on the basis of preliminary experiments, were given special training with the purpose of increasing their self-confidence in a particular social situation. At the end of the training period, each of the five children was exposed ten times to the situations with which he had become familiar, each time in paired combination with a different child. The results showed a definite effect of the training in increasing the ascendance scores of the previously nonascendant children. A more recent study in the same series suggests that the effect of the training is less apparent in a free social situation than in the training situation itself.⁵

³ Ruth E. Arrington, "Observational Studies of Young Children" (unpublished study)

⁴ Lois M. Jack, *An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children in "Behavior of the Preschool Child"* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 3, 1934

⁵ Mayjorie Lou Page, *The Modification of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 12, No. 3, 1936

The descriptive survey of the environment of the young child included in the recently published White House Conference report entitled *The Young Child in the Home* represents another type of indirect approach to the study of behavior-environment relationships.⁶ The aspects of this investigation which are especially pertinent to the present discussion are its methodologically significant attempt to obtain a representative sampling of the total population of preschool children in this country, its portrayal of relationships between socio-economic status and other environmental factors, and the information obtained concerning the frequency with which preschool children come in contact with community influences (as measured by frequency of attendance at motion-picture theaters, Sunday schools, etc.). Some eight hundred field workers, in interviews predominantly with mothers, obtained comparable information for about four thousand children representing about three thousand families. Families were carefully selected on the basis of geographic location, size of community, and socio-economic status, as measured by father's occupation, but the resultant sampling was overweighted in favor of the higher economic groups. Relationships between socio-economic status and such factors as size of family, type of home, material possessions, parents' health, education, interest in child care, methods of discipline, children's attendance at movies and Sunday school are shown by histograms.

The wealth of highly suggestive clinical material that has been accumulated under the impetus of the mental-hygiene and psychoanalytic movements has helped to clarify our conception of what constitutes the young child's environment and what are the significant points of impact. Sociologists, in interpreting life histories and other behavior documents, have stressed the extreme importance of social environment, the overwhelming influence of the family and the community, in defining behavior trends in the individual. Pro-

⁶ John E. Anderson (ed.), *The Young Child in the Home*, White House Conference Publication (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936)

fessor Burgess has emphasized the role of the family in transmitting culture to the child and the fact that clashes between family and community standards are the most frequent sources of parent-child conflict as well as of conflict within the individual.⁷ W. I. Thomas has contributed the concept of the definition of the situation by the family and the community. He describes the process of acculturation in the young child in the following excerpt from *The Unadjusted Girl*.

As soon as the child has free motion and begins to pull, tear, pry, meddle, and prowl, the parents begin to define the situation through speech and other signs and pressures: "Be quiet," "Sit up straight," "Blow your nose," "Wash your face," "Mind your mother," "Be kind to your sister," etc. This is the real significance of Wordsworth's phrase, "Shades of the prison house begin to close upon the growing child." His wishes and activities begin to be inhibited, and gradually, by definitions within the family, by playmates, in the school, in the Sunday school, in the community, through reading, by formal instruction, by informal signs of approval and disapproval, the growing member learns the code of his society.⁸

Thrasher's study of Chicago gangs affords illuminating sidelights on the relationship between deviate patterns in the individual and deviate family and community patterns.⁹ Stealing from railroad cars may become a family- and community-sanctioned pattern as firmly fixed in the culture of sections of Chicago adjoining the railroad tracks as is its opposite in the more highly favored socio-economic areas of the city.

What, briefly, are the kinds of environmental influence to which the young child is exposed? There is first what we may call the gross environmental heritage of the child, the family atmosphere into which he is born. A child may be said to have two kinds of family

⁷ Ernest W. Burgess, "Family Tradition and Personality Development," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 55, 1928, pp. 322-330.

⁸ W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1923), pp. 43-44.

⁹ Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

environment, one that he holds in common with any brothers and sisters he may have and one that is his own peculiar heritage. The first is a relatively fixed constellation of influences determined by the kind of parents he happens to have and the kind of home they happen to live in. It includes the cultural background of the parents as determined by such factors as race, nationality, and family traditions, their intelligence, education, religious beliefs, emotional stability, and social adjustment, their attitudes toward each other, toward the home, and toward the community, the number of parents living in the home, whether the parents are divorced or separated, etc. It includes also the myriad factors which we are wont to group under the single heading of socio-economic status—the size of the home in relation to the size of the family, the number and quality of the material possessions of the family, the occupation and income of the father or mother or both, the location of the home, whether in the city or in the country, in a small or in a large city, in an isolated or in a populous region, the kind of community in which the family lives, etc. The second kind of home environment, which for each child in the family is different from that of any other child and which in part accounts for the marked differences we find in the behavior of siblings, includes the child's relationship to the other members of the household, whether he is the only child or one of two, three, four, or twenty-four, his age order in relation to that of the other children, whether he is an own child, a foster child, a stepchild, a wanted or an unwanted child, the attitudes toward him of the various members of the family group. Then there are all the combinations and permutations of these influences interacting one with another and acting upon every member of the household.

Such evidence as we have, however, suggests that these are not the primary sources of direct environmental impact, at least in the case of the young child, that they affect the child only indirectly through their influence on the behavior of the persons with whom

the child comes in contact. The behavior of the adolescent may be directly influenced by knowledge of the inferior social or economic status of his family, by the fact that his parents are divorced or that he is a foster child or an illegitimate child, but these factors have not begun to impinge on the child in the preschool period. The young child is more influenced by action than by conscious knowledge. Direct impressions on his behavior are made by the behavior of other persons toward him or in his presence, the methods used in teaching him socially acceptable patterns of behavior, the kinds of punishment and reward meted out to him, the consistency or inconsistency of discipline to which he is exposed, the examples set consciously or unconsciously by members of the family group, by teachers, and by playmates.

It is safe to say that the majority of the direct contacts of the young child with his elders involve efforts on the part of the elders to inculcate in the child the accepted social and cultural mores of their own immediate world. When the family mores are in accord with the community mores, the child has a relatively easy time of it. Conflict between family and community mores, on the other hand, is likely to be reflected in social maladjustment in the child. The kinds of behavior patterns which American culture expects the child to acquire during the preschool years can be seen in reverse in lists of behavior problems at this age level. There is, first of all, a rather complicated set of personal habits which, once acquired, frees the child to a considerable extent from dependence on adults and makes him an agreeable person to have around—eating, dressing, and elimination habits, approved sex behavior, and patterns of this sort. There are self-protective habits, such as displaying caution in crossing streets. The kinds of social patterns that bear the stamp of approval or disapproval in our current American society can be determined fairly well from an examination of the many personality rating scales and personality tests in current use. Among the approved social traits are such patterns as politeness, sympathy toward others, kindness, obedience to authority, social conformance in

group situations, cooperation, respect for the property of others, self-control, and sociability.

Direct approaches to the problem of environmental influence on social behavior have been more frequent in studies of older children. Shaw's study of delinquency areas in Chicago is the outstanding sociological contribution from the standpoint both of method and of findings. In its attempt to relate delinquent behavior to the environmental setting in which it occurred, it represents the strictly cultural approach. By plotting home addresses on maps of the city of Chicago, the geographic distribution of delinquents was determined and ratios of delinquents to the total population of similar age and sex in different areas were computed. Comparison of delinquency rates for different areas indicated that school truants, juvenile delinquents, and adult criminals tend to be concentrated in the areas adjacent to the business districts and industrial centers, lowest rates of delinquency occurring in the outlying residential communities.¹⁰

A recently published University of Iowa study investigated the influence of environment on the personality of school children by comparing two groups of children living in two different socio-economic areas of the same city. Each group included fifty-six children and the number of families represented was approximately the same in the two areas. The parents and the child were interviewed separately by a psychiatrist, the interviews being recorded verbatim by a stenographer who also served to introduce the psychiatrist to the family and to make an appointment for a subsequent interview by a social worker. The information obtained in these interviews was supplemented by a personality questionnaire filled out by the children's teachers, and by such data as could be derived from available records of various community organizations. The community background was described in terms of size and population of the area, appearance, property values, juvenile delinquency, school transfers, recreational facilities and agencies, school provision for recreation, and library facilities. The authors conclude that parental

¹⁰ Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929)

attitudes have a more important influence on personality adjustment than community influences, that the physical environment is in itself of comparatively little importance.¹¹

The May and Hartshorne studies of deception, using the experimental test-situation approach, clearly demonstrated the fact that cheating, lying, and stealing are highly specific patterns of behavior that occur in response to particular factors in a situation, rather than to the situation as a whole. Children practise deception in one situation and not in another and on one test and not on another in the same classroom. Deceptive behavior was found to be related to cultural and social limitations in the home background, to the kind of associates the child had, and to teacher-class relationships.¹²

A variety of techniques have been devised for getting indirect information concerning what goes on in the home from school children. One study investigated children's replies to a questionnaire concerning psychological factors in the family. The questionnaire was designed to get at parental attitudes toward the child, the compatibility or incompatibility of the parents, the personal adjustment of each of the parents.¹³ Another study of home environment used a group test applicable to children in the fifth to eighth grades to study relationships between cultural background and character. Children were not asked to report on their own homes as in the other study but to answer general questions, to say what would happen under specific circumstances, the assumption being that their answers would be correlated with actual happenings in their own homes.¹⁴ The application of techniques of this sort to older brothers and sisters of preschool children might yield interesting supplementary data.

In this cursory appraisal of the current status of research on the

¹¹ Kenneth V. Francis and Eva A. Fillmore, *The Influence of Environment Upon the Personality of Children* (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 2, 1934).

¹² Mark A. May and Hugh Hartshorne, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

¹³ Royal S. Hayward, "The Child's Report of Psychological Factors in the Family," *Archives of Psychology* (New York: Columbia University, 1935), No. 189.

¹⁴ Edith Marie Burdick, "A Group Test of Home Environment," *ibid.*, No. 101.

environment of the young child, the need for a concerted attack on the problem of environmental influence in the early years has been emphasized. So far we have merely grazed the surface of the fundamental issue, but in so doing we have acquired methods of attack and insight as to the relative importance of various factors. As an essential background for the evaluation of individual behavior we need to extend the beginnings already made in the direction of defining social and cultural patterns for preschool children of varying ages, nationalities, races, economic levels, etc., with increased emphasis on the more strictly cultural patterns of behavior. We need reliable observational records of the process of acquisition of cultural and personality patterns in individuals. We need to overcome our emotional biases with respect to quantitative and nonquantitative methods to the extent of being willing to take advantage of the methodological gains of the two approaches in attacking new problems.

But these are, after all, only the preliminary stages of investigation leading to a clearer definition of the problem. In the last analysis, we must rely on carefully controlled experimental or comparative studies for substantial evidence of important relationships between environment and behavior. We must actually change the environment, defining the behavior and the environment with equal precision before and after the change, or observe behavior before and after environmental changes that occur in the normal course of events. Some such approach as that of Freeman³⁶ and Burks³⁷ in their studies of environmental influence on intelligence, if the extreme difficulty of executing such a program could be surmounted, would seem to offer the most definitive means of demonstrating the actual effect of environment on the sociocultural development of the child.

³⁶ Frank N. Freeman, Karl J. Holzinger, and Blythe C. Mitchell, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement, and Conduct of Foster Children," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, pp. 103-217.

³⁷ Barbara S. Burks, "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture Upon Mental Development, A Comparative Study of Foster Parent-Foster Child Resemblance and True Parent-True Child Resemblance," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, pp. 219-316.

PROBLEMS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

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Sociologists and social psychologists have a broader avenue of approach to the study of child behavior today than they have ever had before. It is now quite generally recognized that social interaction begins at birth, and the implications of this fact for behavior research are many. As it happens, much of the preliminary work has been done not by sociologists, but by educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, and associated workers in the clinics, research laboratories, and institutes of child welfare. It is encouraging to find that students of the social sciences also are now entering this field, so peculiarly their own. A coöperative program, carefully planned to take in all aspects of personality development, will without question provide the solid foundation which is still lacking—a knowledge of the basic processes underlying education and the many other arts and technologies that deal with the shaping and control of human nature. To such an all-round research program the social psychologist has much to contribute.

The central core of social psychological theory, in the judgment of many, is the concept of personality as relative to the demands and expectations of one's social groups or, in the words of Park and Burgess,¹ as "the sum and organization of those traits which determine the role of the individual in the group"—therefore varying in greater or less degree as the person passes from group to group within his social world, a corollary not always kept in mind. This general conception is widely held today and would seem to be of vital importance for any serious studies of personality development in early life. Yet too little time has been spent in the research pro-

¹ Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924)

cedures necessary to test and establish its validity beyond all question, or to indicate what modifications may be required. We know almost nothing, except in an empirical way, about the specific effects of children's experiences in their first social groups—all kinds of children and all kinds of groups. As L. K. Frank² said recently, "We have hardly begun to do the critical thinking and experimentation that will be needed in the next five or ten years. Habit training—the way in which culture is imposed—may have more significance for personality than we have thought." Wellman³ expressed much the same idea in different words: "There is no such thing as maturation versus training, there is, rather, growth of the organism under one set of conditions or under another set. We must study the *conditions under which* given results are attained." (Emphasis mine—R.P.K.) Murphy⁴ points out, on the other hand, that "Some acts and groups of acts do appear with some uniformity at various age levels. Whether they *must* inevitably so appear, no matter what the environment, is another question." This new stressing of the need for detailed analysis of the social environment became almost a refrain as paper after paper was presented at the Midwest Regional Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (University of Chicago, November 9 and 10, 1935).

The recognition of new problems and the development of method must of course go forward together. Marked progress has been made during the last two or three years in breaking up this forbidding complex known as the social environment. A recent volume by Fitz-Simons⁵ recognizes parental attitudes as perhaps the most influential part of this environment, and offers a guide for estimating their

² L. K. Frank, Discussion at session on Social and Cultural Environment, Midwest Regional Meeting, Society for Research in Child Development, University of Chicago, November 1935.

³ Beth Wellman, "Training and Education" Paper read at the Midwest Regional Meeting, Society for Research in Child Development, University of Chicago, November 1935

⁴ Gardner Murphy and Lois B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931)

⁵ Marian J. Fitz-Simons, *Some Parent-Child Relationships: Contributions to Education*, No. 643 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935)

type, on the basis of guidance clinic case records, and relating them to the child's behavior. Studies such as those carried on at the University of Iowa by Lois M. Jack⁶ and others appear to prove that reliable objective techniques can be evolved for the observational and experimental study of social behavior within specific cultural situations. Roberts,⁷ Phillips,⁸ and their colleagues, working with Ralph Ojemann, have taken pioneer steps in the direction of adapting such techniques to the requirements of investigation in the home and in surroundings that have been considered relatively unfavorable to research. Nowhere, however, to my knowledge, has it been explicitly recognized that the study of a child's many-sided personality necessarily involves the taking of comparable records in all the social groups of which he is a part; i.e., those in which he regularly spends some portion of his time. (It seems sometimes that the children themselves see this more clearly than we. "At home I don't like blue!" was overheard in a preschool play group.) Some children find it necessary to adapt to groups whose codes and methods of social control are divergent, even contradictory; others live in a world all of whose groups function harmoniously. I do not think we know the effects of either situation.

If we think of personality as a function of group experience, this more inclusive approach may reasonably be expected to yield facts of great value, leading perhaps to the establishment of an index of trait stability, early recognition of abnormal personality trends, discrimination between normal and extreme variation in personality, and a new sense of the power which one's social groups exert in the forming of human nature.

When we begin to see each child, not in a vacuum, but as the

⁶ Lois M. Jack, *An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 3, 1934.

⁷ Mary Price Roberts, *A Study of Children's Play in the Home Environment*, Researches in Parent Education II, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 8, 1933.

⁸ David F. Phillips, *Techniques for Measuring the Results of Parent Education: Eating and Sleeping of Preschool Children*, Researches in Parent Education II, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 8, 1933.

center of a complex web of human relationships and activities, the question of sampling looms large before us. Stern⁹ indicated some years ago that most of the studies then available dealt with "privileged" children and that almost nothing was known about the little child of the proletariat. This is only slightly less true today. Even where children from homes of low economic status are the subjects, they are contacted, usually, within the standardized, controlled environment of a nursery school. Kawin,¹⁰ Goodenough,¹¹ and a few others have compared groups of children from widely different socio-economic levels. The outstanding findings are that those from the upper economic groups excel in intelligence tests predominantly verbal, while the children of the lower economic levels rate higher in tests based on motor skills and in independence of adults, etc. The question is at once raised: Do differences in early home environment affect the child's development mentally and socially, as well as physically, and how can these effects, if any, be measured and related to the conditions under which they have appeared? Cavan,¹² analyzing data collected by the questionnaire method for the White House Conference study of the adolescent in the family, found that parent-child relationships were apparently of greater weight than economic status in determining adjustment. Similarly, Francis and Fillmore¹³ found no significant difference in personality adjustment between children in two contrasting sections of an Iowa city—one poverty-stricken, the other wealthy. But adjustment is not the only question to be investigated. (It should be noted, too, that without exception these studies deal with the child's adjustment in general. Compa-

⁹ William Stern, *The Psychology of Early Childhood* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1924).

¹⁰ Ethel Kawin, *Children of Preschool Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).

¹¹ Florence L. Goodenough and Gertrude Shapiro, "The Performance of Preschool Children of Different Social Groups on the Kuhlman-Binet Tests," *Journal of Educational Research*, 18, 1928, pp. 356-362.

¹² Ruth Shonle Cavan, "The Relation of Home Background and Social Relations to Personality Adjustment," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1934, pp. 143-154.

¹³ Kenneth V. Francis and Eva A. Fillmore, *The Influence of Environment upon the Personality of Children* (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 2, 1934).

table data have not been secured within his varied social groups.) Anderson¹⁴ reports a study of differential environments within a given culture in relation to child care, concluding, "A striking picture of different levels or types of culture is thus shown for the different socio-economic levels. The desirability of considering the problem of sampling on a socio-economic basis when treating developmental problems is shown." Here is a domain in which the sociologist should feel at home. Variations in national culture-patterns of child care and training, and in resultant personality types, may well be investigated, in addition to those characterizing different socio-economic levels within each culture.

The current depression urges upon us more intensive studies than have yet been made of the effects of economic insecurity and rapid changes of status upon family relationships and child development. Statistical surveys have prepared the ground. We know, for example, that children between five and sixteen years are found one third more frequently on the relief rolls than in the general population, according to the Unemployment Relief Census of 1933, and that relatively far more Negro families than white are receiving relief. Something has been learned as to the age composition of these groups and also as to the extent of "doubling up" among all urban families—reaching seven per cent in Chicago at the time of the January 1934 census. The significance of these facts for personality growth and adjustment remains to be investigated, though current studies of the effects of the depression, in progress at several universities, promise valuable material.

It seems altogether probable that the immediate future will see rapid strides toward the determination of the conditions under which, within the limits set by individual endowment, certain types of social behavior may be predicted. What is to be the share and contribution of the social psychologist in this general advance? His

¹⁴ John E. Anderson, *The Relation of Differential Environments within a Given Culture to Child Care* Appendix G, Fourth Conference on Research in Child Development (Washington: National Research Council, 1933)

viewpoint, in its essentials, would appear indispensable as a frame of reference in formulating hypotheses for the studies which lie ahead, as indicated by the report of the conference held under the auspices of the Research Planning Committee of the American Sociological Society, published under the title "Sociological Research in Adolescence."¹⁸ The extent to which the sociologist or social psychologist himself, in collaboration with his co-workers in the allied disciplines, carries through these and other studies will depend on many factors—not the least important of which is his own recognition of the imperative necessity for such research.

¹⁸ "Sociological Research in Adolescence," *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1936.

CHILD BEHAVIOR FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGIST

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The object of the present symposium is, as I understand it, to determine how, when, and where the environment, especially the cultural environment, makes direct impact upon the child, and how the impact can be observed and how measured. There are very extensive data in our anthropological sources on certain end results in child behavior, but relatively little on the factors and processes, cultural or other, which have brought about these end results. A great many of these data have been assembled in compilations, such as Ploss's *Das Kind*. Close-ups of child behavior in particular tribal groups may be gotten from an occasional monograph, such as Kidd's *Savage Childhood* or Vanoverbergh's recently published study of the Isneg Life Cycle. About the only anthropologist who has devoted intensive attention not only to end results in child behavior but to the factors and processes by and through which these results have been produced is Margaret Mead—and it is naturally the factors and processes more than the end results that one must study for evidence of the impact of culture.

One reason why anthropology has not given much attention to the factors and processes back of child development is that it has been busy about many things and just did not think of doing so. A second reason is that the average anthropologist is not trained in sociopsychological techniques. A third reason is that he is very much afraid, perhaps overtimid, lest he read too much of his own subjective self into the objective facts he tries to observe and record.

My own interests and training have been more in the ethnological field and in the use of ethnological techniques, with psychological and sociological interests only marginal thereto. My personal field work, while conducted in the main along traditional ethnological

lines, has however brought me into some contact with certain phases of child development, inasmuch as my more particular ethnological interest in the field has been with the child and the woman. The people I know best at first hand are the eastern Cree of James Bay and it is chiefly from their culture that I shall draw such facts as can be presented in this short paper.

These Cree are an Indian tribe or cluster of bands living in the James Bay region of northern Canada, James Bay being the southern extension of Hudson Bay. They lead a simple nomadic life. They depend purely on hunting, trapping, and fishing for their livelihood. Throughout most of the year—roughly, from September to June—these two thousand Cree are spread out over a territory of about seventy-five thousand square miles. They are scattered in small family groups, each group isolated from the others on its own hunting territory, the territory having been hereditary in the family time out of mind. In the summer months, however, they gather at the several trading posts on the coast. It is then they may be studied. Some, but by no means all, of the children have been to the mission schools. Although these Indians have been in contact with white people for many decades they still retain much of their aboriginal culture. They are far less acculturated than most Indian groups in the United States. This was brought home to me very clearly this past summer when I went for the first time to visit the Seneca of western New York. I was quite taken aback when one of the first questions I was asked by a Seneca was what I thought of the recently published biography of Catherine the Great. Such sophistication would be entirely foreign to the Cree.

Now for some illustrative end results of cultural impact on the Cree child, and for the factors and processes, so far as I have been able to interpret these factors and processes objectively, although, even so, I am afraid that possibly a subjective element may be entering into the interpretation. For purposes of illustration, I shall choose just three angles of child life. First, sense of responsibility and

self-reliance; second, the nonaggressive, noncompetitive, sharing attitude; third, the absence of adolescent conflict.

First of all, the sense of responsibility and self-reliance. Cree children are relatively responsible and independent at a very early age, compared with our own children. The attitude of adults toward children differs considerably from ours and hence orients the behavior of the child in a different direction. Cree children are taken seriously. Notwithstanding the fact that parents are exceedingly fond of their children, there is no baby talk for these youngsters. For very tiny infants there is some fondling, but even a three-year-old is supposed to stand pretty much on his own feet as it were.

There is a certain dignity in the way children are treated, even those so young they can hardly walk. No shade of annoyance is apparent in adults regardless of how much children get in the way or cause delays in working. Babies are usually allowed to crawl about and to play with whatever they can find. I remember one situation which appeared to me to be fraught with much danger, but which was taken as a matter of course by the old woman who was caring for her little grandson. The child was barely able to crawl, yet he was playing with a big and effective-looking knife. Nothing was said until the woman needed the knife to cut some birchbark. The baby gave it up when she wanted it, only to grab it as soon as she laid it down again, quite within his reach. "Don'ts" are seldom heard

Children, instead of being petted and protected, learn by experience and are encouraged to use their own judgment. On one occasion I had a number of inexpensive necklaces. I gave them all to my interpreter and told her to choose one for herself and one for each of her three small girls. She, however, took it for granted that the children should be allowed to choose for themselves. She stood by and let each pick out the one she preferred, offering no comments or suggestions. Afterwards the mother told me that the youngest girl,

about seven, was very changeable and that although she might regret her choice she would have to abide by her decision. Again, it is the custom that should one wish to obtain an ethnological specimen, such as a basket or some little trinket, he must deal directly with the owner, even though the owner happens to be only seven or eight years of age. The bargaining is done with the child, and parents or other adults who may be present, disclaiming all responsibility, will give no clue as to what value should be placed on the article in question.

In general, the indirect "take for granted" system of training, which to us often looks like spoiling, is the method used to instill self-reliance and responsibility. There is little physical correction. I have never seen a child spanked or even threatened. In case the mother is very busy and the children tease too much for attention, they are shooed out of the lodge and told to stay away all day. They may miss a meal, but when they return in the evening they are given something to eat before they go to bed. It would be considered too cruel to send a child to bed without his supper, whereas going all day from morning to evening without food is a common experience for adults and children.

As with us, bugaboos are used for very small children. But when children are considered old enough to understand, proper conduct is expected as a matter of course from them. They are not threatened into conformity or appealed to. As an illustration, the attempt to get information on stealing is illuminating. Here I may be permitted to draw on the experience of my colleague, Dr. Cooper. We have both worked in the same James Bay area. An old Cree squaw was asked this question by him: "If a boy six years old were to come back to his own lodge with a pair of moccasins he had stolen from another lodge, what would you say to him?" The old woman thought a while and at last answered, "A boy *that* old would not do that" So the whole question had to be repeated with an age change: "If a boy

four years old," and so forth. Another long pause, and she replied: "Well, yes, *he* might, being so young." "But what would you say to him?" "I'd ask him, where did you get those moccasins? From the lodge over there? Did the people give them to you? No. Well take them back." The old woman was here asked, "Wouldn't you say anything else to the boy, or scold him?" "No. The moccasins didn't belong to him."

We now turn to our second illustration: the nonaggressive, non-competitive, sharing attitude. The culture pattern revolves around the family. The fact that culture is so home centered probably accounts in large measure for the relatively noncompetitive, nonaggressive attitudes which prevail. Generosity is premiated. Prestige is gotten from approval of elders. Sharing with others and good nature are prime virtues. Ability to do things, not to beat others, is what counts. The noncompetitive, nonaggressive attitudes of the child are especially noticeable in the field of recreation. In contests between individuals, such as high jumping, foot races, or canoe races, there is some degree of the competitive element present, but it is more masked and implicit. There is no challenge and no drive to triumph over contestants. Defeat is taken not only good-naturedly but lightly. The fighting spirit is not apparent. The boys using bows and arrows and other weapons play at hunting, not at warfare. Some of the children's games are rough and tumble, but deliberate cruelty is not approved.

The children form into loose play groups, but the gang in its characteristic form as found among us white Americans can hardly be said to exist. Instead of horizontal age groupings between ten and sixteen, the Cree play group constitutes a vertical grouping from even five or six to fifteen. The leadership may be a real one but it goes more commonly to the oldest than to the most popular or most aggressive. Predatory activities and snubbing attitudes are absent.

Children are expected to be generous and to share from earliest childhood. They are taught this very definitely. When I gave sweets

to a child she would run at once to her mother and give them to her. The mother would then distribute the candies among the other children of the family and save the last piece for the one who brought the candy in. A great ado is made over the first bird a little boy kills. He brings it to his grandfather or father who does not hesitate to show his pride in the achievement. Small though the bird is, it is duly prepared and then divided among the members of the family—the boy gets none of it.

Our third illustration, from the absence of conflict at adolescence, can be dealt with more briefly. So far as I am able to judge, there is no crisis or conflict at adolescence. In the first place adolescence is not marked by any rite, either social or religious. I have been very much struck with the contrast in this respect between the eastern Cree in the north and the Mescalero Apache of the southwest, among whom I spent the summer of 1931. Among the latter the major annual celebration centers about a very elaborate rite for girls who have reached physiological maturity during that year. There is seemingly no conflict among the Cree from frustration of the desire to be considered grown up, for these young people have been taken seriously from a very early age, and they take their places in adult society when still very young. Moreover, in regard to vocation, there is little choice. A boy knows from earliest youth that he must be a good hunter if he is to succeed and a girl knows that she must be able to do the woman's share of the work if she is to get a good husband. Vocational indecision does not cause tension for the young, and, since the ambitions of the young are in accord with what their parents wish for them, this latter source of conflict is automatically barred. Finally in regard to sex, they marry early, and besides there is a fair amount of premarital freedom and license and even some incest.

So much for the concrete facts illustrative of cultural impact among one group, an impact observable particularly in the factors by which and the processes through which the end results in child

behavior are brought about. The end results are clear; I think from the evidence we are safe in saying they are the results of cultural factors and processes; that is, not of racial or psychological factors and processes. (The subjective may be entering in here but I have tried to eliminate it.) Now three general suggestions and observations on what light upon child development can and cannot be expected from cultural anthropology: first, the possibilities in general; second, the possibilities among the lower nomads in particular; third, the limitations.

First, the possibilities. Among no primitive people is the impact of culture so great that it crushes individuality and brings about a dead level of uniformity. The anthropologist is realizing more and more keenly individual differences among primitive people—the varying degrees of acculturation of the individual to his own tribal cultural pattern. But not very much has been done so far by our ethnologists. Here is a fruitful field for the investigation of personality differences in children as well as of individual deviations. Again, by comparing our own with primitive cultures, we can distinguish what is cultural and clear the way for measuring the impact by the careful application of sociopsychological techniques. Others have stressed the fact that primitive society offers very favorable laboratory conditions—fairly homogeneous material and simple conditions, with variables reduced to a minimum—so I need not labor this point.

Instead I should like to pass to the second general suggestion and call attention to possibilities for research among the lower nomads. Within the large group of cultures we class as primitive, in the sense that they are preliterate, there are not only great varieties of cultural patterns but also great differences in cultural level. Some cultures are vastly more primitive, more simple, than others. For instance, in material culture as well as in many phases of economic achievement and social organization, there is almost as great a contrast in *pattern* between the Cree and Mead's Samoans or Malinowski's Trobriand

Islanders as there is between the Samoans or Trobriand Islanders and ourselves, and also almost as great difference in general *level* of cultural advance. The primitives of Samoa and the Trobriand Islands are sedentary agricultural peoples, having many arts and crafts of a relatively high order, as well as a complicated social organization and religious life, enormously more complex than anything to be found among our nomadic hunting Cree and other tribes on the very simple levels of primitive culture. These very simple peoples lack in whole or in large part many of the culture characteristics which the more advanced primitives share with civilization, such as currency, slavery, concept of war, suicide, organized prostitution, to mention only a few. Hence it seems to me that the very simple primitives fulfill the laboratory conditions remarkably well.

The child comes in contact with an extremely simple and uniform cultural environment. Culture is mediated mostly through the immediate family and near kin. For a full nine months of the year the Cree child, for instance, sees no one and is in contact with no one but his immediate and near kin, his father and mother and siblings, and perhaps a half dozen other very near kin. There are scarcely any other social groups with which the child, or for that matter the adult, comes into contact. There are no sibs, no societies of any kind, no institutionalized age classes, no rigid gerontocracy, even no defined suprafamilial political organization or unit. The simpler the content of the cultural pattern and the fewer the agencies mediating it to the individual, the easier it is ordinarily for the investigator to grasp the processes operating and the fewer factors he has to isolate when dealing with a particular problem. In choosing primitive peoples upon whom to experiment I should suggest that these very simple lower nomads be included.

And now, thirdly and finally, a few suggestions regarding limitations in applying sociopsychological techniques in the primitive field. Longitudinal studies are not easily made, for the students properly equipped cannot ordinarily remain very long in the field

A year is about the normal maximum and most ethnologists consider themselves fortunate if they have a few months at a time. Moreover, studies requiring statistical treatment and hence a large number of cases within a limited age range are usually not feasible because most primitive populations are rather small, even those living sedentary lives in villages, and all the more so where there is question of the lower nomad peoples who usually associate, at least most of the time, in bands or units well under a hundred souls, and often, as among the Cree, under ten. An intimate knowledge of the primitive language involved is a desideratum, but it is a qualification seldom met with, as most primitive languages require years of practice before real fluency in them can be attained. Field projects involving such linguistic knowledge must be thought over very carefully before they are launched. Nevertheless, much can be done by living among the people, using competent interpreters, and checking up all data by the various techniques of ethnological field work.

But apart from these and some other limitations we feel that the field is a most promising one. It goes without saying that workers in it interested primarily in the problems of child development should be familiar not only with the sociopsychological techniques, but also with the techniques of ethnological field work.

NEW TECHNIQUES FOR TRACING CULTURAL FACTORS IN CHILDREN'S PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION

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The main point of this paper, very briefly stated, is: With certain positive modifications and extensions, Piaget's method of child study offers a very fertile approach to the problem of children's personality development in terms of cultural conditions.

The reasoning methods and naïve beliefs of children with reference to various physical and moral phenomena were originally studied by Piaget in terms of certain universal characteristics. The influence of social factors (parental prestige and discipline, child-to-child contacts) was early stressed—but only as a general proposition.

A shift in emphasis soon became indicated: in terms of rather indeterminate variations in the broad characteristics of childish talking, thinking, and believing—in different, vaguely defined cultural milieux.

Evidence of a negative or passive sort has been accumulating and pointing in this direction for some time past. Piaget came to recognize such passive or negative evidence of certain European investigators who reported on children "with different scholastic environments in Germany, Spain, and Russia." He was thus led to emphasize eventually that even with reference to the local French-Swiss culture, most of his own work refers only to "children from the poorer parts of Geneva" and that "in different surroundings the age averages would certainly have been different."

¹ Jean Piaget, *Language and Thought of the Child*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), p. xx.

² Jean Piaget, *Moral Judgment of the Child* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), p. 37, footnote.

Certain American and English investigations raised this point about the significance of cultural factors somewhat more positively. Thus Mead, in reporting on the apparent absence of "why" questions and animism in some of the cultures studied by her, specifically suggests that certain characteristics of given languages and certain cultural variants of religious training or general parental discipline may have to be reckoned with more actively.⁸ Investigations concerned with the simultaneous examination of children belonging to contrasting subcultures served to indicate all this even more pointedly. Thus Harrower⁹ found marked differences in the developmental sequences of children belonging to contrasting English socio-economic areas—in the matter of choice of punishments and concepts about cheating. Our own findings¹⁰ on six points concerning all-round "moral realism" indicated that children in a low-income immigrant subculture rate definitely "lower" than those belonging to a higher income native subculture: even though the children compared had closely similar intelligence ratings, and were born and socialized in sections of the same American town.

However, in most of these and other even more passive or negative reports, the point made is merely that the investigator's findings more or less tally or disagree with those of Piaget. Whether such data tally or disagree with those of the pioneer studies, the reader will find but very meager, if any, suggestions as to why there may be a given degree of agreement or disagreement—in terms of possible, positive similarities or dissimilarities in the quality of the cultural milieu in which the studies in question were conducted.

The time has come, it seems, for a far more positive departure here—in terms of certain specific modifications and extension of Piaget's original approach. Given the modifications in question, we

⁸ M. Mead, "The Primitive Child," in Murchison, *Handbook of Child Psychology*, 2d ed (Worcester, Mass. Clark University Press, 1933)

⁹ M. R. Harrower, "Social Status and the Moral Development of the Child," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, No. 4, 1934, pp 75-95

¹⁰ E. Lerner, "Constraint Areas and the Moral Judgment of Children," unpublished doctor of philosophy thesis, Columbia University, 1935

consider that we may soon have a very fertile approach to some fundamental aspects of children's personality development in terms of cultural conditions.

We wish to make it clear that we do not have in mind a formula for an excessively one-sided cultural determinism—as another excessive reaction to equally excessive “psychologizing” about cultural conditions—on the psychobiological side of the fence. The underlying assumption is that we are dealing with fused rates of convergence as between possible hereditary-temperamental and environmental-cultural forces—but that we are going to focus our attention on specific rates of convergence, in specific cultural milieux. Such an assumption is in essential harmony with Piaget's main organizing principle with reference to the transition from egocentric to “rational” methods of reasoning, offering as it does, in our opinion, one of the most consistent, imaginative yet sound formulae for reconciling the possible psychobiological and psychosociological factors. This organizing principle of Piaget suggests the nature of changing convergence in broad outline and in terms of accommodation and assimilation, as continuous phases of the process of adaptation. In his discussion of the “three systems of thinking,” it is stated as follows: (a) in motor intelligence we have a mixture of the mind's accommodation to things and the assimilation of things by the mind, (b) in egocentric thinking, assimilation relatively preponderates and so subjectively distorts, due to a lack of impersonal perspective, while (c) in rational or relativistic thinking, the self is placed in perspective, and the element of accommodation on the part of the observer regains the role it attempted to play in “primitive motor intelligence.”⁹ Only, and this is one of the major modifications or extensions we propose, distortion always goes on; it becomes seemingly and in a limited sense actually more objective and systematized, according to the type of cultural milieu in which the transition from egocentric to relativ-

⁹ Jean Piaget, “Les Trois Systèmes de la Pensée de l'Enfant,” *Bulletin Société Française de Philosophie*, 1928, 28 4, pp. 99-101

istic thinking takes place. With reference to the more multidimensional valuations we shall discuss subsequently, children in different cultural areas will arrive at relativistic thinking to a varying extent, always with narrowly close reference to the particular universe of discourse which characterizes their given cultural milieu. But seldom can we expect a little Socrates who can go against the trend, so to speak, thus transcending the norms of relativity obtaining in his immediate cultural universe.

More specifically, here are the procedures we propose with reference to the approach we have in mind.

As a general working hypothesis for current research in the direction we have in mind, we would accept Piaget's theory of adult constraint with reference to the mental development of the child. Clinical observations concerned with the more multidimensional aspects of child behavior tend to harmonize with such assumption.

But we propose to break up this concept of adult constraint or adult influence, or any other cultural influence, into qualitatively more definite, refined, and empirically verifiable components. Adult constraint means chiefly parental influence and school influence. In addition to designating types of parental, school, or church influence in sheer census terms (in terms of membership of parents or parent-surrogates in given socio-economic, occupational, religious, ethnic, etc., groups), we must identify more definitely the quality, the main valuational or attitudinal pattern of what goes with such group membership of parents and parent-surrogates. To this end, we must secure certain "general evaluative attitudes" of such persons—with reference to, say, certain specific points on child rearing, physical, moral, educational, religious, etc. Such attitudes will partly reflect the orientation of parent-persons in terms of their own earlier culture adjustments, as to their own reaction to previous valuations of preceding generations and so on. The degree to which there is need for exercise of personal authority, for instance, is obviously of cardinal importance here. We can follow some of the

clues suggested by clinical observers like Plant⁷ and then apply them somewhat in the manner tentatively worked out in a slightly different direction by Francis and Fillmore.⁸ Aims stated in terms of ideals as to certain specific aspects of family life, classroom behavior, etc., will give us a more definite and dynamic picture of adult constraint or adult influence in given areas—in terms of what the parent-persons or other culture-surrogates come to expect in a more or less characteristically recurring manner.

Next, it will be necessary to tie up with the various, relatively abstract aspects of egocentricity discovered by Piaget some of the more dynamic, more multidimensional aspects of child behavior. This would be in further, bolder extension of what we attempted in our Genevan research:⁹ with reference to empathic capacity and certain types of sociocentrism or forms of in-group clannishness and out-group prejudice—as pertinent, dynamic aspects of the principle of perspective. Extending this to more subtle and significant areas of valuation, we may well anticipate here some of the early beginnings for subsequent “generalized traits” of personality or “general evaluative attitudes” in G. Allport’s sense of the term—of the sort tentatively schematized by Thomas and Znaniecki, Spranger, etc. This is certainly indicated for eventual longitudinal studies—prior to studying them in their most developed forms, on the level where we had the habit of fixating them, *i.e.*, that of late adolescence and young adulthood.

In addition to criteria for thinking methods and beliefs exhibited by the children, we must also look to the latter for some indirect verification of the kind of picture we obtained earlier of their elders as culture-surrogates. The child’s conception of parental role, the role of teachers, etc., can serve as a more objective check-up on the possible overstatements or understatements of more sophisticated

⁷ J. S. Plant, “Mental Hygiene Aspects of the Family,” *The Family*, April, May, June, 1932

⁸ Kenneth V. Francis and Eva A. Fillmore, *The Influence of Environment upon the Personality of Children*. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 2, 1934

⁹ E. Lerner, *The Problem of Perspective in Moral Reasoning* (to be published soon)

adults. In such twofold manner, we may then map out given constraint areas or superego areas.

Further, we must aim at more direct verification of the actual correlation between the two series; that is, as between the general evaluative attitudes of given culture-surrogates belonging to certain census categories and the characteristic reasoning methods, beliefs, and rudimentary "general attitudes" of the children.

Finally, as another major modification of Piaget's original approach, we must study such childish reasoning methods and naive beliefs not only in terms of developmental sequences in broad age classes, but in terms of their intercorrelations in the case of individual children belonging to given age groups. It is here that we may look for significant and specific variations in the case of individual children belonging to the same subculture—possibly in terms of more definitely psychobiological considerations of temperament, etc.

The question may be raised at this point as to the significance of relatively abstract reasoning methods or naive beliefs from the point of view of child personality as a whole.

For us the principle of perspective or illusions of perspective represents a potentially most fertile clue to social personality types in children. As suggested earlier, our assumption here is that in various, as yet inadequately defined subcultures we shall come up against chronically and characteristically recurring patterns of distortion or illusions of perspective about given individualized or more broadly social values. They will probably be distinguished in terms of children's ideals about the family, school, community, religion, etc.; in short, in terms of what the child comes to expect in given intimate or broader relationships, along more specific lines of Plant's broad analysis.¹⁰ Such social cultural frames of reference for personality types or trends in children will usefully complement the existing psychobiological simplifications and dichotomies in

¹⁰ Plant, *loc cit*

terms of intraversion-extraversion, masochism-sadism, inferiority-superiority, etc. This would especially hold with reference to the more multidimensional aspects of egocentricity, say, empathic capacity and sociocentric trends or other "general evaluative attitudes" in terms of ideals.

With reference to the more abstract aspects of egocentric thinking methods and beliefs, it may be sufficient to verify the differential effect of the more broadly and obviously contrasting conditions prevailing in given culture areas. For instance, with regard to animistic and artificialistic beliefs or other aspects of the child's religion and cosmogony, we may look for differences in contrasting language areas or rural versus urban areas. The relative frequency in the use of metaphors, superstitious sayings, proverbs, religious admonitions and the availability or degree of firsthand experience with natural and mechanical phenomena will very likely prove of significance here. And even with reference to some more multidimensional aspects of child mentality we may look beyond the more immediately personalized scale of values of culture-surrogates, whether adults or playmates. For instance, in the matter of certain forms of emphatic capacity as an aspect of the child's all-round objectivity or ability to look at his environment in a stand-off or stand-away manner, we may look to certain psychologically relevant and yet more broadly physical aspects of socio-economic status; *i.e.*, the matter or degree of crowding, again bearing in mind some of the clinical observations and hypotheses of Plant.

In the matter of actually going out and obtaining our data for this kind of problem setting, we face two types of more mechanical problems (a) the technique of selection of subjects, in view of certain statistical difficulties in treating too numerous variables—if the latter cannot be empirically-experimentally controlled; and (b) the technique of interviewing and classification of response types. Time and space do not allow more than mere mention of our main ideas here.

As to selection of subjects, it is a question of constantly dealing with highly selected groups of children—selected simultaneously for five or six variables or even more. It is a question of abandoning the idea of broad random sampling. Eventually, it will call for studying children coming from the same subculture areas—as selected now for this, now for that set or package of variables, leaving for sheerly statistical control as few variables as possible.

With reference to interviewing, it is a question, first, of regularizing the informal interview method used in this kind of study (without sacrificing its so-called free association features), and, second, utilizing second- and third-line justifications of earlier given answers. The aim is to secure more dependable, uniform, and refined types of answer which will be more amenable to statistical treatment—a standard of accuracy thus far approximated only by the more objective test procedures of the paper-and-pencil variety.

With such techniques of selection, interviewing, and treatment of data relative to the kinds of problem setting outlined above, we feel that this method of child study will yield increasingly meaningful and dependable clues to specific cultural factors in specific types of child personality.

THE STUDY OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AS A BACKGROUND FOR RESEARCH IN CHILD BEHAVIOR

HARRIET R. MOWRER

Research in child behavior has generally taken the child as the unit of study whether it be in the psychiatric, psychological, biological, or sociological field. Sociological research has been from the standpoint of the child's status and role in society. That his basic roles (personality) are likely to be determined by the close relationships of the child and his family members has long been recognized. Such studies, accordingly, emphasize the importance of the role of the child in his family, the nature of the relationship between the different members, and his conception of this relationship, for the understanding of the development of his personality.

From the standpoint of methodology, the conventional procedure is that of detailed study of case-history and life-history documents. Such documents portray the behavior reactions of the young individual in various social situations—the family, the school, the neighborhood, the institutions, etc. Here the method is to supplement the child's own portrayal with segmental accounts of certain aspects of behavior, by the parents, the teacher, and other persons with whom the child has had significant contacts. Thus the point of approach is that of beginning with the child's behavior in response to the present situation, or as far into the past as can be recalled, and then finding an explanation of this behavior in terms of the social situations in which it has occurred.

An alternate procedure is that of beginning with the antecedents of the marriage situation into which the child was born, recognizing that the behavior problems presented by the child are in many instances simply the reflection of personality and marital conflicts of the parents.

It is doubtful if a complete understanding of problem behavior in the child can be had, therefore, by making him the focal point of study. What is more essential is to study first the personality and marriage patterns of the parents. The purpose of such a procedure is:

1. To reveal the basic mechanisms in the personality patterns of the husband and the wife which determine their marital adjustment
2. To get at the genesis of the attitudes entering into the patterns of sex, response, and cultural conflict which constitute the milieu into which the child is introduced at birth and in which he ordinarily continues to live
3. By revealing these mechanisms and attitudes, which are the significant determiners of the pattern of child-parent relationship, one may get at some of the most important factors in the personality adjustment of the child

How this approach accomplishes these purposes may be illustrated in the case of Ann, age 15, of superior intelligence, who is failing in school in all of her studies, dresses flashily to attract attention, and goes with boys of questionable reputation. The mother complains that the girl is lazy and incorrigible.

An analysis of the family reveals the following factors which can only be very briefly summarized.

Mrs. X, the mother, had an unhappy home life as a child due to domestic conflict between her parents. The mother, an active and dominating woman, fifteen years younger than her husband, told Mrs. X, her favorite daughter, all her domestic troubles. Mrs. X became closely identified with her mother, admiring her and hating her father. In spite of her feeling that she could never care for a man, Mrs. X married a distant cousin. Marriage, she felt, was the conventional thing. Sexual intercourse occurred a short time prior to marriage. The husband, a man with little financial status, but

ambitious to study and to become a geologist, she characterized as inferior and shiftless like her father—a man who liked books and did not earn much money.

Categorizing her marriage situation as similar to her mother's, this, then, became the pattern into which many aspects of her own marriage relations were made to fit. Attempts at sexual adjustment were characterized by inhibitions, avoidance, pent-up emotions and tensions, force, and resentment. Uppermost in Mrs. X's mind was the thought, "I must not get pregnant for I will want to divorce him." Mr. X, on the other hand, because of his wife's coldness and insinuations, was beginning to hate her.

Into this psychocultural situation the daughter was born fifteen months after marriage. At first Mrs. X showed some liking for the child. Mr. X criticized the details of his wife's care of the baby, accusing her of responsibility for the child's lack of robustness. He thus early became the child's champion on many occasions.

Sex and response conflict continued. Mrs. X complained of nervousness. Mr. X said that the circumstances of their relationship caused him to regard his wife in no different light from that of a prostitute.

Two years later a boy was born. At this time Mrs. X gave up thoughts of a divorce and assumed an attitude of martyrdom. Economic and cultural conflicts became more pronounced. Mrs. X went to work, saying that her husband's earnings were inadequate. She belittled all his attempts at advancement and relegated him to the inferior position of doing much of the housework in the home. Before their friends she pointed out his faults and failures and impractical ideas. In order to rationalize his inability to get ahead, Mr. X became more and more absorbed in his books in preparation for a better job which he never secured. He had lost what initiative he earlier possessed, and there was no longer any attempt to face reality.

As Ann grew up she became more and more identified with the

father. Her physical characteristics and mannerisms all seemed to remind Mrs. X of her husband. The girl's interests also were those of Mr. X—she was quiet, uninterested in athletics, fond of reading, and a dreamer.

A year ago Mrs. X forced her husband to leave the home, keeping the children with her. Antagonism between Ann and her mother has become exaggerated by the father's absence from the home. Mrs. X has relegated Ann to the same position which Mr. X formerly held. She disparages her continually by identifying her with the father ("You are just like your father; you will never get ahead"). Ann is assigned the same menial tasks the performance of which always meets with criticism and discouragement. Her reading, even though it include her school assignments, also is identified with that of the father. Her security is threatened by reminding her that she is dependent upon her mother because the father is too inadequate to support her, but that nevertheless she will be sent to him.

During this time an even closer attachment has developed between the son and mother. His capacities and traits are pointed out as superior to those of Ann. Mrs. X looks upon the traits of her son as similar to her own and finds him more sympathetic and understanding, even speaking of him as being like a mother to her. There is intense conflict between the two children, Mrs. X taking sadistic delight in displaying her preference for her son. His wishes are deferred to and his opinions sought. Mother and son frequently carry on conversations when Ann is present, in a universe of discourse of which she is not a part.

It is clear that the breakdown in Ann's school adjustment becomes intelligible as a response to a family situation in which she becomes the scapegoat of her mother's antagonism toward her father. Into this interactional situation enter a multitude of factors, many of which antedate even the birth of Ann. The most significant of these factors are: Mrs. X's identification with her mother as

against her father; the reenactment of her early family pattern in her own marriage; sexual relations prior to marriage which symbolized a threat to her dominance and became the basis for sadistic attitudes toward her husband, Mr. X's tendency toward subjective adjustments, intensified by wife's critical and depreciative attitudes toward him; intense domestic discord early in the marriage into which situation the birth of a child became another obstacle to separation and was resented as such by the mother; early identification of Ann with the father as he becomes her champion; close attachment of mother to her son; Ann's inferior role, crystallized when the father is forced to leave the home, resulting in attitudes of complete defeat toward her schoolwork and impulsive and irrational attempts at compensation.

Thus Ann's present behavior manifestations can be fully understood only in the light of the role into which she has been cast in family interaction. This role in turn becomes intelligible as one sees it in relationship to the roles of other members of the family, each of which had its beginning prior to the marriage situation. Thus it may be said that Ann was born, as is every child, into a prepatterned interactional situation which forecast and predefined her role. And while many of the details of this role are modified by the nature of subsequent family interaction and nonfamily contacts, the general continuity of the pattern persists. It is with the understanding of this general pattern that the approach in this paper is concerned.

The advantages of this approach have in practice been found to be. (1) It gives a complete genetic picture of the development of the parent-child relationship. Here is revealed the genesis of the attitudes that furnish an understanding of this relationship. (2) It does not single out any one experience in the life of the child and treat it out of perspective, but reemphasizes the need for understanding the experience in terms of its setting, many elements of which are symbolic in character. (3) It gets at the connections between the patterns of overt responses of the child and the underlying

complexes of attitudes. Thus it recognizes that the situation to which the child responds is defined and gets its meaning out of the symbolization of certain elements in the marital adjustment.¹ (4) It implies a technique of interviewing the parents such as to counteract the defensive and emotional attitudes which tend to arise when the parent feels that he may be censured for his treatment of the child. This placing of the child's behavior in its natural perspective serves to reorient the parent with reference to that behavior. (5) It provides a definition of the problem in other than overt terms and supplies clues to be followed in the subsequent study of the child. (6) It mobilizes the coöperative attitudes of the parents and thereby facilitates further study of the child's behavior.

¹ See the writer's *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord* (New York: American Book Company, 1935) for a more comprehensive treatment of this point.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNING

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The juvenile delinquent can be viewed as a youth who has witnessed a special, although by no means abnormal, child development, contingent in large part on the social or cultural process of behavior patterning.

BEGINNING OF MISCONDUCT AND DELINQUENCY

Just how early misconduct in children appears is not known exactly, but in our civilization and society infractions are abundantly present in the social life of preschool children. The situational factors under which misconduct arises are likewise imperfectly known; but this much is known, namely, it is not the behavior of the child *per se* that makes misbehavior but rather the rules of the family or substitute group that define misbehavior. Misconduct in the young child is misconduct in the eyes of adults and their culture patterns and not necessarily in terms of the attitudes of the child. Misbehavior is therefore a function of the impact of the patterning forces at work in the social environment of the child. This statement assumes that the behavior of the child, regardless of original material, can be patterned so as to reduce or exaggerate misconduct.

There is a strong suspicion that the sources of later delinquencies hark back to maladjustments in the family—to something faulty or wrong with the patterning process. But there is also strong suspicion that the behavior problems in the family may have little to do with later delinquencies and that the latter arise in the neighborhood situation—in the world beyond the family. At any rate, in our society the child must graduate to a world outside the home before

misconduct becomes official or unofficial delinquency. It is at this point that the legal definitions and jurisdictions apply to behavior. In America cases of children under six years of age appearing in courts for delinquency are rare indeed. The most recent coverage on juvenile-court statistics for the country as a whole reveals that 'only six per cent of the cases of delinquent children are under ten years of age.'

Case studies, giving the behavior situations in detail, are certainly needed for delinquent children under ten years of age, so as to be able to decipher more clearly the continuity of early misconduct in the family and neighborhood and its carry-over into later delinquencies. As it is now, we merely make conjectures and do not have the behavior sequence of misconduct growth before us. And at the same time we have no positive answer to whether the sources of delinquency trace back more to the early family than neighborhood situation of the young child or vice versa.

MATURATION OF DELINQUENT CAREERS

The process of misconduct growth does not cease when it emerges into initial delinquencies, because we have in our society the phenomenon of recidivism. The percentage of recidivists in the juvenile-court cases of any given year is reported to be small, only twenty-five per cent in the last reckoning by the Children's Bureau.¹ It is doubtful whether this figure gives a true indication of the extent of cumulative recidivism among children between six and eighteen years of age (the age span of juvenile-court jurisdiction in most instances). Nevertheless, the sizable minority of delinquent children, which continues on and on, constitutes the crux of the

¹ Children's Bureau, *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1933*, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1935

² *Ibid*

delinquency problem, since from these children are recruited the ones who climb from the lower into the higher brackets of delinquency patterning and graduate into professional criminal careers. Shaw³ found abundant evidence for the emergence of criminal careers in the cases he studied. He called this process a process of summation. Sutherland⁴ calls it a process of maturation and notes also that the criminal age is not chronological age but rather the extent of sophistication in crime. If there is any such thing as a typical criminal, forgetting the statistical mode for the moment, it is probably the young adult criminal who has come up through the ranks of early delinquency patterning and has graduated into crime as a profession. It was suggested that we need detailed case studies to indicate the carry-over from early misconduct to later delinquencies. But we need also a wealth of life histories that can depict the process of later maturation of criminal careers and the cumulative patterning incident to it.

THE AGE CURVE IN DELINQUENCY

A further examination of the statistics on delinquency indicates that as age increases so does the percentage of juvenile offenders. There are more delinquent children ten to twelve years of age than under ten, more twelve to fourteen than ten to twelve, and so on. Each successive age group—and for that matter each successive year of child life—has a higher proportion delinquent. If the criminal-court cases are included along with the juvenile-court cases, the curve of delinquency will be found to increase sharply with advancing age until about twenty-four years of age, after which there is a long tapering decrease.

³ Clifford R. Shaw, editor, *The Jack-Roller, A Delinquent Boy's Own Story* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 347.

⁴ Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934), Chapter 11.

DIFFERENTIALS IN DELINQUENCY

Boys get started in delinquency earlier than girls, which fact reflects the condition that our society, through its cultural patterns, accords greater latitude of movement and activity to young boys than young girls. The same explanation probably accounts for the fact that several times as many boys become delinquent as girls. Boys run more risks of getting caught through gang activities and street play. The likelihood of a boy getting caught and arraigned for misconduct in our sociolegal system is also much greater than that of a girl.

The race differential in delinquency rates, as between white and Negro, is also understandable in cultural and sociological terms. Negro children do not have the same advantages for patterning according to the ways of the dominant legal and moral order as have white children. Negro children are more liable to arrest, as is true probably of underprivileged persons and members of minority groups in advanced countries.

The urban-rural differences in rates of delinquency suggest that the city child has more opportunities to get into trouble, lives in a community which has more legal and extrafamilial rules to violate, and stands a greater chance of having his behavior legally noticed. The rural offenders show a higher proportion of crimes against the person than do city offenders, while the latter have a higher proportion of crimes against property (except arson) than the former. These conditions reflect differences in the patterns of the sociolegal culture of urban and rural life.

THE COMPANIONSHIP FACTOR

In our society, boys run in gangs and neighborhood play groups as soon as they get release from the apron strings. Thrasher⁵ has

⁵Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927)

pointed out that the gang is a very potent factor in delinquency, especially in the interstitial neighborhoods of the city. The activity patterns of a gang bring the boy into conflict with the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and family order of our society. For certain classes of urban boys the gang order continues in their lives from early youth through adolescence into adulthood in an almost unbroken sequence. Further sociological studies need to be made to indicate the extent to which gang life reaches all boys in the urban neighborhoods in which gangs seem to be so prevalent. Such studies might throw light on what happens to boys, as far as delinquency is concerned, who do not participate in gangs or who belong to gangs whose activity patterns are not at such variance with the dominant legal and moral order.

Shaw and McKay⁶ have called attention to the fact that delinquency of urban boys is in the great majority of instances group activity—the activity of a twosome, a threesome, a foursome. Lone-wolf offenders in the Chicago juvenile-court cases constitute only eighteen to twenty-six per cent of the total delinquent-boy sample. Isolating the stealing offenses, Shaw and McKay found that the lone offenders constituted even a smaller minority—eleven per cent. Further studies of the companionship factor in boy delinquency should indicate whether lone-wolf offenders become more prevalent or less prevalent as age increases and how much the rate of lone offenders varies for boys of different income, racial, and nationality levels of the population.

DELINQUENCY AREAS AS A LOCUS OF PATTERNING

By use of spot maps, area and zone-rate maps, and gradients, Shaw and associates⁷ have shown that official delinquency is highest

⁶ Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "The Causes of Crime," *National Commission of Law Enforcement and Observance*, II, 13, pp. 191-199.

⁷ Clifford R. Shaw, *et al.*, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-188.

in the near central urban neighborhoods and decreases in the decentralized areas. The central zone of highest delinquency rates were found to be areas of declining population, physical deterioration, great mobility, family dependency, and underworlds of crime and vice. The areas of low delinquency rates were found to be neighborhoods of well-ordered family and community life, capable of controlling their children. The areas of highest delinquency rates are just those where it is most difficult to pattern the behavior of children according to the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and moral order of our society. Landesco⁸ has pointed out that in just such areas the social institutions of the dominant moral order fail to reach the children who are exposed to the patterns of the more alluring criminal tradition.

The areas of high delinquency therefore are the locus for a criminal and gang culture is not only at odds with the dominant order but also to a large extent beyond its control. It is here that the child finds patterning incident to the culture complexes of fixing, racketeering, political corruption, fences, confidence games, criminal codes, criminal practices, and underworlds of vice.

INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE AND PATTERNING

Another unpremeditated locus for criminal patterning is found in reformatory and correctional schools. According to the Thomases,⁹

As adults we have a naive way of thinking of influence as transmitted from the older generation to the younger, and we appreciate the point that it is horrible practice to place young children with old criminals, while influence seems to spread more rapidly laterally, as between members of a younger generation, than vertically, as between members of different generations. The congregation of bad

⁸ John Landesco, "Crime and the Failure of Institutions in Chicago's Immigrant Areas," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIII 2 (1932-1933), pp 238-248

⁹ William I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), p 96.

boys in juvenile homes and reformatories has had unexpectedly bad consequences. Young boys seem to be influenced toward bad behavior more positively by the tough boys under sixteen in detention homes than by the old criminals in jail.

The detailed life histories of delinquent boys, published by Shaw,¹⁰ give ample illustration of how criminal attitudes, technique, code, pernicious habits are transmitted in the *sub rosa* life of boy inmates as well as how antisocial grudges generate as a reaction to imposed authority and discipline. A master's study by Moorer,¹¹ who was a participant observer in a boy's reformatory, gives abundant proof, from observational, interview, and life-history materials, of the existence of a *sub rosa* delinquent culture among boy inmates. Among many citations, I was impressed by the fact that the inmates in this institution exchange locks which they learn to pick in their undercover spare time and that most boys learn to pick the available locks very soon after admission.

OTHER SOURCES OF DELINQUENCY PATTERNING

Still another unintended source of criminal patterning comes from the movies. A recent sociological study of the effect of movies on delinquency and crime by Blumer and Hauser,¹² using life history, interview, and questionnaire material from several classes of offenders, revealed that "motion pictures were a factor in delinquent careers of about ten per cent of the male and twenty-five per cent of the female offenders studied." This is a gauge of direct influence, since the subjects claimed they were motivated by film content or cited instances where they enacted behavior patterns wit-

¹⁰ Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller*, *op cit*, with M. E. Moore, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931).

¹¹ Sam Moorer, "The Reformatory as an Educational Institution," master of arts thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1935.

¹² Herbert Blumer and Phillip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency and Crime* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934).

nessed on the screen. The subtle and indirect influence of movies came to the subjects in the form of display of criminal practices, arousing desires for easy money and an easy life, inducing a spirit of bravado, glorifying criminal roles, and stimulating sex desires.

Sutherland¹³ has made the point that the patterns of conduct from what he calls public culture, derived from sports, politics, underworlds, movies, newspapers, and radio, are more accessible to certain groups of children in cities than the patterns of private culture which we have elsewhere called the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and family order. The former patterns, which conflict with the latter standards, lead to delinquency.

IMPACT OF AMERICAN PATTERNS

Pauline Young¹⁴ was able to gauge the effect of the impact of American patterns of life on the conduct of boys in a Russian religious sect of Los Angeles (the Molokans). She found that the oldest group of Molokan boys, all born in Russia and still largely integrated into the tradition of their fathers, were the least delinquent. The youngest group of boys, all born in America, showed the highest rate of delinquency (several times higher than their older brothers), since they had broken through the weakening controls of sect life and had gone American or Hollywood in patterns of behavior. The demoralization of this class of boys was therefore incident to the impact of American public life on behavior.

Beynon¹⁵ in a study of Hungarian boys in Detroit indicated that they usually begin by taking coal for their families from railroad property, which behavior harks back to a practice, transferred from the old country, according to which peasant children and members

¹³ Edwin H. Sutherland, "Social Process in Behavior Problems," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVI 3 (1932), pp. 55-61.

¹⁴ Pauline V. Young, "Urbanization as a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV 2 (1930), pp. 162-166.

¹⁵ Erdmann D. Beynon, "Crime and Custom of the Hungarians in Detroit," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXV 5 (1934-1935), pp. 755-774.

of peasant families gathered firewood from the nobleman's estate. When Hungarian boys are caught and taken to court, a new moral and legal definition of their behavior is made. Once defined as delinquent and once having gone through the mill, the Hungarian boys in Detroit are likely to continue their delinquencies. They graduate next into stealing coal for sale to others—not for family use. This introduces the individual mercenary motive into behavior that was not there before. Then they are apt to steal valuables other than coal from railroad property. Then they turn to stealing money from their own homes under the external individualistic, mercenary pressures of American life. Then they prey on the homes of other members of the colony. By this time I should imagine they are ready for graduation from the colony. Here again there is evidence of a sequence in behavior patterning incident to the development of delinquent careers. This sequence of course needs to be validated for class levels and culture groups in America as well as for children of majority and minority groups in other parts of the world.

DELINQUENCY AS A FUNCTION OF THE SOCIOLEGAL CULTURE

The cultural or sociological factor is present in programs dealing with delinquent children. Juvenile-court statistics indicate great variations in court policy throughout the United States. For example, courts in certain cities will handle most of their cases officially, no matter how petty. Other courts deal with them unofficially in varying proportions.

The use of probation as a form of disposition and follow-up supervision, like the distinction between official and unofficial cases, ushered in a new definition of delinquency. The attempt to handle first offenders on probation and to delay committing second and third offenders means a changed definition of delinquent behavior as against the general use of fines and commitments years ago.

The whole juvenile-court movement was posited on an attempt

to define and treat the juvenile offender in a different way than the offender was considered and dealt with in criminal courts. The advanced modes of juvenile-court practice have not invaded the rural and small-town counties in America to any great extent. For example, a rural child in Tennessee is likely to get a commitment to the reformatory for one year or for the period of his minority for his first official chicken stealing, whereas a Memphis boy may only receive an indefinite sentence (a year or two) after his third attempt to steal an automobile.

A concrete instance may serve to show the part which prevailing community definitions of conduct may play in creating the problem of delinquency. In a tenant-farm cotton county of West Tennessee a school teacher called the sheriff to take charge of a knifing case—a boy had drawn a knife on another boy at school. The official let it be known that this was nothing for which a boy should be taken to court. But in this same county boys are committed to the reformatory for chicken stealing. The assailant is not delinquent. The chicken thieves are.

I am impressed with what may happen in a small town and diversified agricultural county not far from Nashville. In looking over the docket of the county court, there are only a handful of cases of juvenile delinquency recorded thereon. Heretofore cases have been recorded only when a commitment was made. The bulk of juvenile infractions are settled by the families themselves or by the judge and the families informally without any record or official disposition. Into this easygoing county has recently been introduced a psychiatric child-study program. One of the first moves of this program was to have doctors, ministers, teachers, and other key persons report all the behavior cases they saw or heard about in their daily routines. Outsiders, in the form of psychiatrists and social workers with advanced standards as to what constitutes a behavior problem, came into the situation and made the community leaders

conscious of problems around them they never paid much attention to before. If a thoroughgoing mental-hygiene program is finally instituted, reaching into schools, churches, families, and courts, it will have the effect of enormously increasing delinquency. For behavior of children handled in the old way becomes problem behavior to report and handle in the new way. I am not suggesting that the program and the new order should not be introduced, although this should be given serious consideration, but I mean to convey the point that delinquency is a function of the patterns of the sociolegal culture of a community, indigenous or borrowed.

In line with the variations in community and court definitions of criminal and delinquent behavior, we need to examine in greater detail the effect of the redefinitions of crimes and delinquencies in countries like Russia, Italy, and Germany. We need also to examine the situation in several other parts of the world where the sociolegal culture differs so greatly from our own. How does a child become delinquent in Russia, in Ireland, in Persia, in China within the prevailing patterning processes and legal framework? To what extent does the age curve of delinquency differ from that in the United States? To what extent are there similarities in the process of maturing criminal careers?

TREATMENT AND PREVENTION AS COUNTER-PATTERNING

From the standpoint of child development we need to view correctional and preventive programs in terms of the imposition of the patterns of the dominant moral and legal order on children. That the imposition has not been very successful is becoming increasingly clear. Grave doubts are being cast on the validity of reformatory programs at the present time. Thrasher¹⁸ in his study of the boys' club in one area of New York City found that the program, al-

¹⁸ Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII 1 (1936), pp. 66-80.

though well intended, did not reach very far, did not give adequate coverage on delinquent boys, and was not an important factor in reducing delinquency in the area.

The recent symposium on *Preventing Crime* by the Gluecks¹⁷ contains many concrete samples of programs designed to reach delinquent and potentially delinquent children. The "area project" in Chicago, directed by Shaw, is an attempt to understand how to establish a preventive program in an area of high delinquency risk—in an area where delinquency patterning is rampant. What sort of counter-patterning processes can be introduced and can be made to take? This should become clear when Shaw reports on his experiment.

Besides a better gearing of programs to reach delinquent children and to set up counter-patterning processes, what preventive work seems to need is guidance from delinquency-prediction studies. Sociologists have made considerable progress in developing methods to predict success or failure on parole and in marriage.¹⁸ These methods could be applied to predicting the risk of certain levels and classes of children for becoming delinquent and continuing in delinquencies until they have graduated into crime as a profession. With actuarial tables before us, it would be a much easier matter to indicate just at what points in the patterning process it is best to apply counter-patterning.

A final point in conclusion. The focus of attention on delinquency as a patterning process in child development in the family, the play-

¹⁷ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime, A Symposium* (New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936)

¹⁸ E. W. Burgess in Bruce, Harno, et al., *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence*, State of Illinois, Springfield, 1928, pp. 205-249; E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, "The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1 (1936), pp. 737-751; L. S. Cottrell, "The Reliability and Validity of a Marriage Schedule," doctor of philosophy thesis, University of Chicago, 1933; Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers* (New York Alfred A. Knopf, 1930); Elio D. Monachesi, *Prediction Factors in Probation* (Hanover, N. H. Sociological Press, 1932); Clark Tibbitts, "Success or Failure on Parole Can Be Predicted," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXII 1 (1931-1932), pp. 11-50; George B. Vold, *Prediction Methods and Parole* (Hanover, N. H. Sociological Press, 1931).

group, and the neighborhood bids fair to give more control over the problem than the search for general causes or causes in individual cases. If the process of delinquency patterning and maturation of delinquent careers can be validated, we have a frontal, unilinear attack rather than a diffuse attack on multifarious and varying causes. The patterning process is something tangible—something which could be photographed. Causes are anybody's game—anybody's speculation. Technologically we can deal with a process, allay the process, set up a counter process (as in the case of serums) before and even without complete knowledge of complicated and multiple causation.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Because of the interest in the field of research techniques the following article is included instead of the usual material of this department.

Tests for Delinquency

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Modern efforts to differentiate objectively between delinquents and nondelinquents began in 1912 when Guy C. Fernald (10)¹ asked reformatory inmates to stand uptoe until overcome by fatigue. Since then, many experimenters have constructed tests and other measures for delinquency. These tests may have several purposes (a) to find potentially delinquent boys before actual trouble arises so that preventive measures may be started in time; (b) to provide material for use in treatment; (c) to measure the results of treatment. The purpose of this article is to review some of the tests in order to provide a source of ready reference for those who are working in the field. This review will include some of the group tests and test batteries constructed originally for one of these purposes.

One method used in testing delinquents is to ask them to confess certain symptoms, weaknesses, or habits on a questionnaire or inventory, as

Are you afraid of water?	Yes No
	Mathews (19)
Do you sometimes wish you had never been born?	Yes No
	Cavan (6)
Did you ever tell a lie?	Washburne (31)
This child is very much afraid of mother	Pintner, <i>et al</i> (22)
Are you usually on time?	Yes No
	Loofbourow-Keys (18)

Eating

a) Usually hurry	
b) Eat very fast	
c) Eat slowly	Baker (1, see also 2)
Do you like to have people feel that you are important?	Yes No
	Moore (20)

¹ See bibliography on page 510.

Closely related to the inventories but less dependent upon the insensitiveness, insagacity, honesty, or sincerity of the subject are the instruments for discovering the wishes and preferences of the delinquent or "problem boy," as

How many friends would you like to have?

- a) ———none
- b) ———one or two
- c) ———a few good friends
- d) ———many friends
- e) ———hundreds of friends

Rogers (24)

Put in parentheses the number of the one thing you would like to do.

- a) Go for a joy ride
- b) See a good show
- c) Shoot craps and win

Raubenheimer (23)

Do you prefer an automobile now or an auto and a million dollars a year from now?

Washburne (30)

Have teeth pulled.

(Hart (11)

Name three recent news items that have interested you.

Thomas (28)

Rank in order of preference

- a) sled ———
- b) dagger ———
- c) watch ———
- d) camera ———
- e) skates ———

Hawthorne (12)

As editor, which of these would you put on page 1, 2, etc

- a) Factory-Made Homes Now the Rage ———
- b) Famous Writer Dies ———
- c) Banker Admits Theft ———
- d) Dog Chews Child's Face ———
- e) Mule Tries to Board Car ———

Moore (20)

Which of these would you prefer to learn about in science?

To know how glass is made ———

To learn the causes of skin diseases ———

Moore (20)

Related to these are the efforts to discover wishes, preferences, and interests by having the delinquent rate offenses or virtues, as

Brogan list of sixteen offenses	Weber (32)
Ten "wrong acts"	Raubenheimer (23)
Ten Commandments	Simpson (26)

Less direct methods include Voelker's trustworthiness tests (29) adapted for use with delinquents by Cady (4), Raubenheimer (23), Casselberry (5), Hill (13), Bathurst (3), and Loofbourow and Keys (18), as

(On a check list) Do you know who discovered America? ——
(Later) America was discovered by

- a) Drake——
- b) Columbus——
- c) Balboa——
- d) Cook——

Raubenheimer (23)

Put an X in front of each word you know

- perceive
- restore
- grole
- luxury
- rettle

Loofbourow and Keys (18)

An association test was used by Laslett (15) who presented words including *steel, forge, queer, big, safe* on flash cards and instructed the child to put down the first word that came to mind. The association of *steel* with theft was considered a delinquent response. Other indirect methods included the use of slang by Schwesinger (25), questions organized around the seven cardinal principles of education by Lewerenz and Steinmetz (17), play information by Murray (21), incongruity of drawings by Hinrichs (14), and disguised preferences by Moore (20).

Some investigators have attempted to differentiate between delinquents and nondelinquents by batteries or combinations of tests. Among these were Fernald (10), Cady (4), Raubenheimer (23), Cushing and Ruch (8) (girls), Courthial (7) (girls), Daniel (9) (Negroes), Lentz (16), Casselberry (5), Loofbourow and Keys (18), Symonds and Jackson (27), and Moore (20).

The attempts to measure potential conduct by verbal tests often rested upon certain assumptions; namely, potential and actual conduct is highly

correlated with mental life, mental life exists in the form of words and symbols; these elements can be expressed directly or indirectly; a test situation can secure these expressions. The connection between test words and conduct cannot be known to exist for any test until demonstrated. The methods, which have generally been used for establishing this proof or for validating the assumptions, are.

1. Theoretical validity or square root of the reliability. The test is assumed to measure the trait, attitude, knowledge, or conduct inferred from the content of the test questions.

2. *Correlations with other tests* The extent to which the test agrees with other previously validated instruments is determined

3. *Correlation with ratings* The relationship is found between the subjects' test scores and judges' estimates of their character, personality, and conduct.

4. *Comparison with findings of case studies.* Although it is somewhat similar to and less objective than comparisons with ratings, it is more thorough.

5. *Comparisons with selections by the nomination method.* This procedure differs from the rating method in having the children choose those classmates outstanding in a trait or mode of conduct.

6. *Test score differences between two groups known to differ in conduct.* For example, a delinquency test is given to nondelinquent and delinquent groups; the significance of the difference in scores is determined by the critical ratio or bi-serial r .

7. *Test score differences between more than two groups* This is an extension of the preceding method. For example, differences may be noted among boys from a relatively delinquency-free area, boys from a delinquency area, boys from a day school for behavior problems, and boys from juvenile correctional institutions (20). Raubenheimer had groups representing the most and least stable from privileged and underprivileged areas, special school boys and delinquents (23).

8. *Differences in test scores among individuals whose conduct is known.* The discriminations are not only among groups but also among individuals (20) (22)

These validating procedures often have been unable to overcome the insecurity of the assumptions according to which the tests were constructed. The criticism that the words or symbols recorded by the pupil are not due to the attitudes or conduct thought to be measured may persist. This has been true especially of the inventories and questionnaires

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, edited by MARGARET MEAD. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, 531 pages.

The studies of thirteen primitive peoples reported in this volume are an earnest effort to present a comprehensive analysis of the total life of each group as a basis for an evaluation of the factors which make for competitive, cooperative, and individualistic societies. Although the editor in her excellent "interpretive statement" carefully guards against too finalistic interpretation of the data, it is interesting to note that the degree of cooperation seemed to have no relationship to the physical environment nor technological development and that "all the competitive societies depend upon the initiative of the individual . . . while in the cooperative societies life goes on in response to a structural form."

With all that is written about "The Middle Way" this book makes a significant contribution through its impartial analysis of elemental social processes.

The Study of International Relations in the United States, edited by EDITH E. WARE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, 503 pages.

The key to the content of this excellent and authoritative volume is in the first word of the title, it is not a study of our international relations but a compilation of the purposes and programs of the many organizations in the United States fostering the study of international relations. When thus compiled it presents an impressive picture and leads the reader to hope that America may yet be a dominant force in maintaining world peace, not by participation in the League, but by organized and aroused public opinion.

A Bibliographical Introduction to Nationalism, by KOPPEL S. PINSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, 71 pages.

An excellent bibliography containing references to four hundred thirty-one books published in English, German, or French. It is a comprehensive summary of postwar literature in this field, well classified and carefully annotated. Invaluable to students of nationalism.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEAN PAYNE'S GIFT TO RHO CHAPTER

Dean Payne, in transferring the ownership of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY to Rho Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa, has honored both the Chapter and the Fraternity. Rho Chapter is deeply conscious of this honor and considers the transfer not simply a gift but especially the creation and assumption of a trusteeship.

The ideal that Dean Payne has established for THE JOURNAL—service to education through a careful study of the sociological influences that surround it and an honest presentation of pertinent facts—is so consistent with Phi Delta Kappa's ideal of Research, Science, and Leadership as to be substantially identical with it within the field of THE JOURNAL. This is an ideal that all Phi Delta Kappans and all educators can support enthusiastically.

The Chapter looks forward to a friendly and useful association with the Editorial Board and Council, the business management, and, especially, with the Editor-in-Chief, and pledges its whole-hearted cooperation with them in the task of continuing the success of THE JOURNAL.

F. H. ACHARD,
President

EDITORIAL

Five years ago, April 1932, an issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* was devoted to adult education. At that time adult education had only begun to assume the importance to which it has developed since that time. The implications of the experimental work of Thorndike had only begun to be felt. In many respects the field was largely in the survey stage, with many studies demonstrating the need. During these five years, entirely new forces, not even visualized at that time, have entered the field and it is consequently wise again to take stock and in so far as possible to envision the future in the light of these developments. The most difficult problem in the preparation of the material of this issue was that of avoiding duplication with the rapidly growing body of literature and at the same time to present specific programs which would be of assistance to others working in this field.

The first article presents changes that have taken place in the changing concepts of adult education. Each of the remaining articles summarizes the work on different administrative levels: the Federal Government, State, county, the large city, and the small community. While it is recognized that there is inevitable overlapping in this division, each unit has assumed definite responsibility for the initiation and organization of adult education. The major emphasis that runs as a continuous thread throughout the issue is the increasing trend toward coordination of a vast variety of agencies and institutions conducting some type of adult education. It is hoped that this brief summary will still further stimulate the interest in such coöperative ventures and lend encouragement to those who are giving of their time and thought in the furtherance of community programs of adult education.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF ADULT EDUCATION

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The modern adult puzzled by complex and changing conditions turns in increasing numbers to some form of adult education. Within a decade a modest and limited movement has become a social phenomenon. While the leaders of certain European nations depend upon the highly developed techniques of propaganda and centralized political control to maintain order and social progress, the English-speaking nations muddle along through democratic machinery and with adult education playing an increasingly significant part. Adult education is expected to help set goals, select leaders, choose and test political, economic, and social arrangements, and devise the ways and means of earning and distributing an abundant life to all.

Less than twenty years ago adult education was an individual concern. The person who had dropped out of school at an early age found it desirable or necessary to make up his school deficiencies. The foreign born responded to the pressure of Americanization campaigns. In a third type of adult education the individual was preparing for entrance into or advancement in his occupation. All kinds of schemes for self-advancement flourished under the name of education. The educational emphasis was on skills and trades. The motivation in this and the other phases of adult education was largely "increased earnings," "get ahead," beat the other fellow to achievement and success. So much of a misleading nature and doubtful quality was offered in the field of vocational education that even the most sincere and highly qualified vocational educationalist found himself only tolerated among the self-constituted leaders of the adult-education movement during the first four or five years of its organization history.

Adult education as a nationally constituted movement with a

representative and official organization is only twelve years of age. It is young enough to be creative, enthusiastic, growing—and yet old enough to deserve the serious attention of social and educational leaders. One great teacher of history was found in the temple of wisdom puzzling the white-haired traditionalists with his questions and answers at the age of twelve. To get a true picture of adult education as a rapidly growing movement one should read Morse Cartwright's history of its first decade.¹

At first adult education was for the few. There was serious question whether or not adults could learn. "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" became an axiom and the traditional school system continued to pour out a product whose intellectual curiosity was stunted or satiated, crammed with facts on a cold-storage theory of education, a product which knew little more about the principles and techniques of self-directed continuous learning from experience after twelve to sixteen years in school than after three to five years. Again, there were exceptions who seemed to remain intellectually curious throughout life—a small number sensitive to new ideas—but adult education was either a rare experience for some peculiarly endowed folks or, at the other extreme, was a program of typical school subjects—English for non-Americans or vocational training for those who had missed the minimum essentials at the usual school age.

Today millions of adults are engaged in some systematic effort to learn—a skill, a subject, an escape from life's limitations, a hobby that promises an adventure in new experience, a method of self-improvement, a point of view, or a new philosophy of life. This growth in adult education is one of those fortunate economies of nature. Just when life had become so complex, and so puzzling that few could understand it, and just when it became necessary that the citizenship of democracies grow in its understanding of political

¹Morse A. Cartwright, *Ten Years of Adult Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935).

and social arrangements or turn over controls to political dictators, the psychologists and the educators came to the rescue and assured adults that they could learn.

At the same time, education itself began to take on new meanings. Instead of being limited to schools, traditional subject matter, and textbooks, it is becoming a process of dealing with ongoing experience so that the individual gets from it new meanings, new appreciations, and new methods of dealing with similar experience in the future.

Education depends upon attractive means of communication. The traveler who a century ago relayed the gossip of the great to his curious audience as he sat before the open hearth at the roadside inn is a puny force compared to a "fireside chat" with "my friends" over a national hookup. The means of communication today are at the command of the more influential personalities and forces in our civilization. He who has a message and can pay the cost may "teach" the citizenship of the nation through the newspaper, the magazine, the motion picture, or the radio. The means and the agencies of communication essential for either nationwide adult-education programs or campaigns of propaganda are available. It is yet to be determined for which they will be most often and most effectively used.

The activities of the American Association of Adult Education, through its various researches, sponsored projects, publications, and conventions, have awakened the nation's leaders to the possibilities of adult education.

As described in another article in this issue, government subsidy for various types of youth and adult education, such as the CCC, the NYA, and the WPA, workers' education classes, Federal Theatre Projects, and the national forums, are beginning not only to point the way but also to provide the practical demonstrations for permanent, extensive program of adult education quite different from that of the predepression period.

It is significant that adult education is being extended, even more important is the fact that some of the basic concepts regarding its nature and functions are shifting. While some of these trends seem indefinite and others deal with controversial matters, they deserve consideration.

Statistics of attendance would probably show that more adults are interested in education related to their occupations than in any other type. During the past seven years there has been a tremendous occupational dislocation and readjustment. Millions of wage earners have lost their jobs; occupations have gone out of existence or have given way to new machines and new methods. The high schools and colleges pour out two million youth each year, of whom nearly three fourths are looking for jobs—and during the depression only one half of them were successful during the first year. Thousands of ambitious young persons and many of all ages are working at unsatisfactory jobs and will do almost anything that will open up to them promising careers.

For decades there has been a conflict between those who advocate large amounts of *specialized* education and those who contend for a *general* education. But when a depression leaves thousands of highly trained specialists, as well as broadly educated generalists, out of work for years, a new concept arises.

Just previous to the depression twenty-five per cent of our gainfully employed were in occupations that had not existed twenty years before. One needs the ability to move easily and quickly to another type of job. Every sign points to the importance of *versatility* as well as *specialization*.

Versatility requires a good, general education on which specialization can be built. But good old-fashioned, general education has not proved particularly effective in developing occupational versatility. Adaptability does not necessarily increase with the amount of nonvocational knowledge possessed. Latin and Greek and ancient history do not necessarily develop any more versatility than do eco-

nomics, sociology, and business administration. It can best be developed by properly directed education. Such education will help the individual study his own interests and natural abilities. It should help him discover for what different areas of life he is best fitted. Most persons could be more or less equally successful in a variety of occupations. The individual who knows his own interests and possibilities will find it easier to make adjustments. He should also know the factors that are likely to put limitations on his chosen occupation. Then he can detect when his occupation is becoming less and less certain—and when other occupations for which he has natural talents and interests and even basic specializations are likely to present larger opportunities. He needs a constructive attitude toward change: the willingness to expect it and the ability to anticipate it.

Adult education cannot afford to neglect the vocational interests and needs of adults, despite the tendency of education in the past to maintain "a certain snobbishness toward serviceable facts." While "it has had a higher respect for facts that serve no useful purpose than for facts that go to work carrying their dinner pails with them," there is no more insistent need of millions of adults today than practical vocational education that not only opens up a promising career but also helps the individual learn to know himself, locate his own personal difficulties, formulate some satisfying meaning for life, and plan for his own continuous growth and development. Changing concepts of adult education give such a commission to vocational education of the future.

When one turns in direct contrast to the area of leisure, he discovers there a great variety of adult-education programs, hobby groups, dramatic societies and little theaters, arts and crafts. For some persons these activities are simply the spending of leisure or the escape from other more insistent boredoms, but for others they become the creative adventurous expression of otherwise bottled-up selves.

Here again are evolving and conflicting concepts. Not so long ago a college education was essential to the "enjoyment of leisure," and any part of a higher education that did not contribute primarily to the spending and enjoyment of leisure was regarded as a compromise with utility that weakened its educational value. To enjoy leisure one must somehow be on speaking terms with the classical in literature, art, drama, or music. Leisure was to be spent in the pursuit of the fine arts. Any one not educated in these areas had no real right to have leisure to spend or enjoy, for leisure was a part of a trinity in which aristocracy and culture were the other members.

But technological developments have trampled on this concept just as they have so ruthlessly thrown others into the scrapheap along with outmoded occupations and inefficient machines.

Leisure has come to millions. Leisure to do as one wishes has been given more rapidly than the recipient has learned how to spend, use, or enjoy it—so he spends it, plus some hard-earned money, in a sensation-giving activity that satisfies for the moment but leaves him as empty of real enjoyment as he was before he had so much leisure. In increasing numbers adults are discovering that leisure is not simply an escape from work, not simply a time to indulge in sensations, but a time to give expression to those interests and abilities which the rest of life does not permit.

The significant characteristic of adult education for leisure, however, will not be the number who participate in the fine arts, important as that may be, the significant thing will not be education *for* leisure—it will be education for the expression of whatever part or parts of oneself the previous lack of leisure has held back.

Adult education will properly drop its obsession with education for leisure and recognize it as simply a social phenomenon that gives increasing numbers of persons larger opportunity to become their potential selves. To education it gives an increasing responsi-

bility to serve such persons. Some may take up science, some may go into social service, some may go into politics, many will enrich the aesthetic and appreciational side of life—but no one kind of expression is best for all persons.

Closely related is another debatable area of adult education. The orthodox educator, particularly the subject-matter specialist, hesitates to talk about personality improvement. It might be interesting, even if not significant, to speculate sometime on the extent to which the typical educator's own personality deficiencies and inferiorities keep him from admitting the problem into the society of approved educational concerns.

But adults are interested even if the schoolman is not. There is no more pressing concern in the mind of most adults than "What can I do to understand myself, develop a pleasing and influential personality, and get along better with others?" A recent book promising to help with these problems is breaking sales records in the nonfiction field. Ideas that give satisfaction to large numbers of representative adults cannot be ignored by the adult educator.

Only a few years ago personality was expected to develop only from long, tedious pursuit of nonutilitarian "culture." Today there are millions of adults searching for peace with themselves, and for the ability to understand and get along with others without going through the process of conjugating Greek and Latin verbs, demonstrating abstract mathematical concepts, or wandering in ethereal realms with mythological characters.

Common sense says these problems of personality improvement and human relations need a head-on attack, and it is fair to expect a great deal of education to be devoted to these concerns during the next few years. Charlatans may promise unjustified results from

² See "Meriden Survey of Adult Interests" in Thomas H. Nelson, editor, *Adult Education for Social Needs*, Young Men's Christian Association, Occasional Study, No. 16 (New York Association Press, 1933)

spectacular programs but that should not deter the science of education from dealing with these problems any more than the existence of patent medicines should keep the doctors from tackling the scourges of cancer or heart disease.

So far this discussion of changing concepts has been concerned principally with the individual and his personal growth. But today as never before the individual is a part of an intricate social machine that confuses him and neglects him when its only reason for being is to enlighten and enrich his existence. For a century and a half we have sung the praises of a nation established to make its citizens free and independent in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. But we have at the same time built an economic structure where the artisan has ceased to be the purposer and planner of his work, where the tools of the mechanic are not his own and what he makes with the tools (which belong to the "boss") is beyond his say. "Others decide and plan; he follows orders."

The business man, despite his insistence upon maintaining the *status quo*, is the victim of the system he has created. He is not independent, for he lacks power "(1) to comprehend an economic situation far more intricate than his forefathers ever encountered, (2) to detect and combat sinister forces that have gained control—of him as well as the rest of us—and (3) to set about organizing business in terms of the widespread interdependence of modern life."

The average family cannot get even a breakfast today without calling upon a hundred thousand persons to snap into action according to an intricate time schedule, and set their table. The breakfast depends upon the coöperation of workers in wheat fields, flour mills, giant chain stores, printing plants, radio stations, advertising agencies, steamships, railroads, delivery trucks, telephone offices, and banks.

Adult education can no longer be concerned merely with inde-

* Harry A. Overstreet, *A Declaration of Interdependence* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1937), p. 41.

¹ *Ibid*

pendence—it must help persons develop intelligent and effective interdependence.

The only possible way in which we can recover such democracy as we once had and achieve it in still further degree is to advance beyond a condition of independence on the one hand and dependence on the other to one of genuinely fruitful interdependence.*

Such education, however, faces danger as well as an impelling necessity. The educational institution that awakens a sense of social responsibility fails unless it also develops a high degree of *social competence*. Knowing the economic laws of supply and demand and the causes of unemployment does not adequately equip one to play one's part in preventing disastrous business cycles. Knowledge of the extent of crime, delinquency, and other disintegrating social forces is not enough. Facts about political graft and the structure and organization of the various types of governmental agencies do not necessarily make a good citizen. Social competence requires definite training in the technologies of good citizenship.

The average person, youth or adult, knows very little about how to make a democracy real in everyday affairs. He is less well trained in the techniques of democratic social action than are the enemies of democracy in their techniques.

We have all seen a handful of communists baffle a hallfull of democrats. Good education must train citizens in the instrumentalities of making those changes which a growing social concern leads them to want. It must make them dissatisfied with mere talk. It must help them learn how to organize public opinion and support in their own home communities to get new playgrounds, to eliminate neighborhood crime, or to guarantee honest counting of votes in their local ward. It must free them from the control of selfish propaganda and at the same time equip them to forward constructive discussion and public opinion in the support of worthy causes—such as education, recreation, and public health.

* Overstreet, *op cit*, p. 190.

The adult-education institution, however, does not seek to be an instrument of social action; it leaves such matters to community and political organizations. Without pressing the analogy too far, let us note that just as the school educates in the techniques of book-keeping and accounting without operating a business, and trains chemists without conducting an industrial plant, it seeks to develop social competence without itself becoming an agent of propaganda or social action.

The unsolved problem for the average educator rests in how to "persuade to action" and how to develop specific social competence without prejudicing the individual for certain social or political arrangements rather than others.

This very question leads to another changing concept. Creative education is no longer the transmission of subject matter from one who knows to those who do not. It is initiation and guidance in creative and coöperative social experience. The old teacher-student relationship will have less and less place in adult education. Persons under expert group leadership promise larger educational results than classes under typical academic professors. Clubs, classes, forums, discussion groups can no longer be regarded as richly educational just because they take on the form of educational efforts and concern themselves with educational topics. One must ask with Grace Coyle:

Does the group life provide experience in democratic participation or does it teach the type of political manipulation which will later be of use in ward politics? Does it encourage the type of leadership which dominates the group for its own purposes or that which encourages and develops full participation for common ends? Is the experience in the clubs a training in maturing self-determination or in dependence upon authoritative leadership? Do individuals learn to be loyal to the group and at the same time intelligently critical? What experience do members gain in the socially effective handling of conflicts within their group or with another group?"

* Grace Coyle, "Group Work and Social Change," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1935

And finally, for changing concepts regarding the nature of adult education, we can expect to see more and more of it concerned with helping persons formulate a practical, realistic, pragmatic philosophy of life. Gaining new facts, becoming economically successful, learning how to get along with people, enjoying more of life, or even political and social competence are not enough. "Human life by its very nature," says Ortega y Gasset, "has to be dedicated to something, an enterprise, glorious or humble, a destiny, illustrious or trivial." And yet "in these years we are witnessing the gigantic spectacle of innumerable human lives wandering about lost in their labyrinths, through not having anything to which to give themselves"

Metaphysics and ancient philosophy may receive consideration in the process but the emphasis is no longer on making little Grecians out of twentieth-century adults. The problem today is to help them determine in the midst of present-day conflicts what is most worth while. In these situations, at this time and place, and for the persons concerned, what is right, what is good, what is worth living for?

The kind of adult education about which we have been talking is not contained in textbooks. It will not be transmitted in standard lectures. It is neither a static point of view nor a formulated subject matter. It is a creative process for dealing with ongoing experience in some of which he who knows, tells, in other parts, all experiment and cooperate in creating their own curriculum and instruction materials.

It is not the privilege of the few—it is the need, and increasingly the demand, of the majority of adults. It is not a single type of education; it is not restricted to leisure, or culture, or philosophy, it comes to grips with problems of vocation, personality, human relations, and social competence. It uses all kinds of methods; the best of it is most likely not to look like education at all—certainly not like traditional schooling. Administratively, this expanding program becomes the concern not of a few isolated enthusiasts for

adult education but the basic concern of every school board, superintendent of schools, and leader in the college and the teacher-training institutions.

It might easily be argued that nothing would so advance the cause of education of youth, even of small children, as a nationwide expansion of adult education regarding education itself. Society cannot be reconstructed by a group of youth, however capable and inspired they may be by their secondary and collegiate education, who have to conform to a static, adult group before they can get even a foothold. The real hope of social, economic, and political progress rests largely in the hands of the adult educator.

I believe that the outstanding developments in the educational world during the next twenty-five years will be in adult learning. In the years ahead, adult education, which is now in an apparently aimless and amorphous stage from a national point of view, will assume a definite character suited to the character of our national life.⁷

The responsibility for financing the program belongs basically to society. The persons benefiting may be justly charged a tuition. But society profits too. It can afford to pay some of the cost. Modern social conditions have created the confusion and complexity that demand the continuous education of adults. During the depression years the agencies of government have placed a great emphasis upon adult education. They have created a demand and a response as well as much machinery for a continuous and expanding program. This experience and momentum should not be lost.

The situation today points to the logic of an extensive and varied adult-education program—much of it under public auspices—as the basis for continued social progress, as the bulwark of democratic ideas and institutions, and as the guarantor of the more abundant life for more and more persons.

⁷ Dr. Ned H. Dearborn, dean, Division of General Education, New York University

UNCLE SAM PROMOTES EDUCATION

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS

United States Office of Education

When Congress created a department of education in 1867 (now known as the Office of Education), it set forth a number of purposes for such an organization in the Federal Government. Besides collecting statistics and facts on the condition and progress of education in the States and diffusing information helpful to the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, the bill used these concluding words. "and otherwise *promote* the cause of education throughout the country." That sounded very well. But succeeding appropriations hardly permitted the small staff to do more than collect statistics and publish research studies. The broader and more significant part of the Congressional mandate was given scant attention.

In 1917 the Federal Board for Vocational Education was created and Federal appropriations for vocational training were authorized. In 1920 further Federal promotion of vocational training was provided, and in 1933 the functions of the Board were assigned to the Office of Education. It was perhaps natural for Congress to give financial support to the mandate "to promote education" at this point. The concept of education as a means of training people to better their economic situation is understood by the "folks back home." Education means to many parents a process by which their children get on top of the economic pyramid. It is, therefore, quite understandable that the early advances in Federal aid to education should be made in the field of vocational training—the individualistic aspect of the educational program. The funds made available to the vocational side of the United States Office of Education run into millions, while the funds for the promotion of all other kinds of education are insignificant.

Of course, it must be pointed out in this connection that Federal

grants to land-grant colleges, begun in 1862, are now handled through the Division of Higher Education in the Office. But the administration of these funds is largely an accounting and form-filling matter. The Office of Education does not "promote education" with these funds; it simply passes them out according to a fixed formula.

In addition to these older forms of Federal aid to education through the medium of the Office of Education, the Federal Government has promoted and financed various types of education through other departments, such as the Department of Agriculture, which has a far-flung extension division engaged in rural education. As a matter of fact, almost every agency of the Federal Government feels the need of engaging in some educational activity. There has been little serious attempt to route such educational functions through a professional agency.

With the advent of the depression, the locally supported public schools found themselves in about the same position as the factories and the banks. The bankrupt municipalities and counties sought State aid to keep the schools open on a limited budget. In the poorer States, hundreds of schools simply closed their doors. Budget cutting was done at the expense of the teachers and the children. Salaries were slashed and children were crowded into larger classes. Building and repairs were stopped.

The simultaneous drying up of the sources of support for education and the growth of the burden of relief left the schools in a precarious position. The United States Chamber of Commerce advised all sorts of cuts and reductions in program, personnel, and school year. Night schools for adults along with many other services of public education were curtailed or abandoned.

The situation which prevailed during the first part of the depression need not be described in detail.¹

¹ Those interested in reviewing this period of educational chaos will find *Deepening Crises in Education* interesting reading. This publication, Leaflet 44, 1933, may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D C, price five cents.

Together with the recognition that people cannot be left to starve because their local and private agencies of public assistance are bankrupt came the conviction that people should not be left to starve educationally due to the collapse of local credit. It was noted that many of the teachers who ordinarily would be in the schools practising their profession were unemployed. As a result of this observation some of the new funds for the relief of the unemployed were invested in putting these teachers to work in the field of adult education. In a short time, millions of adults were studying all sorts of subjects under the leadership of relief teachers. This was a substitute for the night-school programs which had been reduced.

The tenders of the idle machines were given a chance at informal education at the hands of the idle teachers. Under the pressures of the depression, the Federal Government began "to promote education" as a means of putting some of the unemployed to work and engaging others in a fruitful use of their leisure time. The management of this new type of adult education was lodged in the relief agency because one of its objects was to give relief work. So there began to develop a parallel system of education which was captioned "emergency." Cooperation of various degrees and kinds was established between the relief administrations and the professional agencies of education.

Classes in English, American history, economics, rug making, tap dancing, etc., were held. Forums to discuss public questions, and reading circles were organized. Parent education and workers' education took on new life and became special departments of the new system of "emergency education."

In addition to this plan of employing the idle teachers in various kinds of educational work, the Federal Government promoted education from the standpoint of brick and mortar. Thousands of new school buildings were erected in over two thousand communities under the Public Works Administration. Repairs and remodeling of existing buildings were carried forward.

The old concept of "rugged localism" in matters of education was battered by the blows of falling local credit. The spirit of "localism" may have been strong, but the flesh of local resources was definitely weak. With words, the educators frequently lashed out against Federal administration of educational programs, but with their hands they reached for Federal appropriations.

As is well known, the Federal Government has not only subsidized building, and employed educators, but it has helped finance the "educatee." The student-aid program, followed by the National Youth Administration, were efforts by the Federal Government to keep young people in school. The CCC program with its rough-and-ready educational system made a new departure in Federal assistance to education. These programs were not dictated by men so much as by conditions. The alternatives to youth in school or CCC camps were too disastrous to contemplate.

Economic collapse prodded the Federal Government into "promoting education" as it never had before. But it must not be concluded that this Federal aid to educational activities was a substitute for the losses suffered by public education due to the inadequacy of "localism." It represents but a fraction of the reduction in support for public education.

During the economic upturn, the struggle for renewed budgets for education is as painful as that of the workers for wages. Most of the aspects of the "emergency education" program were organized for the primary purpose of giving work to the unemployed, and the secondary purpose of providing education for the learners. Therefore, as the most proficient teachers find employment, the secondary purpose is more difficult to accomplish. As this "emergency" program is reduced and withdrawn, there should be a permanent program constructed to take its place. The question, therefore, emerges: "Is the Federal Government going to continue to promote education?"

It is rather obvious to the casual observer that the prosperity seen

in the balance sheets of the corporations is not so readily reflected in the budgets of municipalities, counties, and States. Despite "sales taxes" and other "emergency" devices, the States and communities are still unable to finance normal services at predepression effectiveness. The appeal of education in most parts of the country for the return of its lost provinces at the expense of local and State governments is no doubt a far cry. And what attention can be expected to be given a petition for funds with which to conquer new provinces in the fight for diffused learning?

The shortage of trained workers in certain occupations has been revealed as the economic machine has responded to the recovery stimulation. The Federal Government has, therefore, authorized new millions to vocational training. At the same time, several bills are pending in Congress designed to give Federal grants to the States for more equalized education generally. The proponents of these measures recognize that *recovery does not recall all of the dismissed workers or provide opportunities for the depression-born generation of new workers*. The argument is made, therefore, that the educational system must be prepared to extend the period of schooling and provide some kind of guidance and practical experience for the youth between sixteen and twenty-five. The CCC program will be placed on a more permanent basis.

While it is generally agreed that public education should not rest exclusively on the uncertain and hazardous local-tax base, it is nevertheless argued that Federal financial aid on a permanent basis should not impose Federal control or management of the educative process. The Federal Government can promote education without running educational institutions. So, together with the question of whether the Federal Government is going to continue to promote education, runs the question whether the principle of local control and management is to be preserved. "Localism" so far as financial capacity is concerned has been inadequate, but so far as the management of the educational program is concerned it is still competent.

Concurrently with the "emergency education program" managed as a Works Progress enterprise to provide jobs for unemployed, the Office of Education has administered a small portion of relief funds for educational projects so that the management of the programs was rested in the hands of the local professional agencies of education. A little more than \$2,000,000 was routed through the Office of Education during the past two years to enable it to carry out the purpose for which it was organized with respect to a few fields of education. This amount is, of course, infinitesimal compared to the funds routed through the relief agencies for educational purposes, but almost six times as much as the regular budget for the general division of the Office of Education.

Projects financed by these funds included: (1) public-forum demonstration centers, (2) educational radio, (3) university research, (4) research on Negro education, (5) study of school units.

The first three projects involved the "promotion of education" by direct aid for educational activities, while the other two were based on research as a means of promoting better educational planning in the States and communities. The most novel and pioneering projects are the first and second. For the first time, Federal Government has promoted experimentation in the use of the radio as an educational medium. The educational radio project has been producing five network programs per week for a year, conducting a script exchange and thus making hundreds of radio scripts available to high-school and college radio workshops and producing units, and giving counsel and training to educators on the use of radio. In a short time, it has demonstrated that education programs can compete for public interest with the commercials. But, of course, educational broadcasting is still in its infancy.

The public-forum demonstration centers, with which the writer is most familiar, were organized in nineteen States during the past year and a half. Community-wide programs of public discussion of current social, economic, and political affairs are organized and

managed by local agencies of education, which already administer public schools for children and youth. The Office of Education acts as a fiscal agency to allocate funds to the local communities and as a clearing house to aid the various managements in making the most of the money through the exchange of ideas on effective methods of operating the program.*

This program, promoted by the Federal Government with emergency funds, establishes a few "experiment stations" in all parts of the country to demonstrate the workings of public forums under local school management. It points ways by which hundreds of school districts may serve the needs of adults for civic understanding through informal public discussion.

As illustrations of the concentration and extent of these programs, a few figures from the reports of the first ten centers during the first five months of operation are in order. These ten places were located in urban and rural communities with a total population of about two million. During the fall and winter program, from September through January, the local forum managements conducted over 3,800 public discussion meetings attended by more than 350,000 people. More than 150,000 people have met to discuss public affairs each month since January. The subjects discussed were based largely upon the headlined issues to be found in newspapers and magazines. The meetings were led by forum leaders, who are selected by the local managements for their competency in dealing with public affairs as well as in guiding and stimulating free public discussion. In addition to the conducting of these thousands of neighborhood and community meetings, over 1,000 radio programs were presented during the five-month period, and 13,000 pamphlets sold or distributed. In addition, these projects stimulated the reading of thousands of library books.

The high-school and college programs have been vitalized in most

* For more details, see *A Step Forward for Adult Civic Education*, Bulletin No. 16 (Washington, D C Office of Education, 1936)

of the centers, Teachers attend the forums in large numbers and make use of the materials and techniques in their classrooms. But, even more important, high-school and college young people are being involved more and more in forum discussions planned and organized by themselves with the aid and guidance of social-studies teachers and professors.

The adult civic-education program and the radio projects are merely examples of the types of service that the Office of Education is to render if it is to realize its objective of "promoting education." The future of these and other programs is uncertain. One naturally asks whether the Federal Government may not continue to promote education, which it has begun to promote as a relief measure. We may properly expect that private industry and enterprise should reduce the relief rolls by a progressive reemployment program. But education is very largely a public enterprise. Therefore, the function of making effective use of the trained but unemployed members of this profession is a public function. The production of educational services to the people as a whole is a public responsibility. The transfer of funds from the "emergency" program to the permanent program ought to go forward as rapidly as possible. In other words, the Federal Government should now plan to promote education as the *primary* objective. The recovery program of the public enterprise should lead the way in transferring competent people from relief rolls to permanent and full-time employment at prevailing wages.

STATE ORGANIZATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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It is doubtful whether any satisfying analysis can be made of our present system for adult education on any one of its geographic levels—national, State, county, city, or community—separate from the other geographic levels. One reason is that we live today in a perpendicular type of society. Almost every national move or enterprise has its reverberations even in the remotest part. Similarly, each local upheaval is echoed even in the far-off National Capital. Another reason why an analysis is difficult, even on the State level alone, is that rather than having a system, we have a complex of adult-education systems. About the best that seems feasible, therefore, is to discuss separately some of those systems that seem to generate mostly from the State level, and where the motivation of the State units appears to be dominant. These in the main comprise college and university extension, including both the coöperative agricultural and the general extension; special State short courses; radio, including particularly the State educational radio systems; State library agencies; and special-interest education carried on by State bodies of various rural and urban organizations.

It will be noticed that the definition of adult education followed here is almost synonymous with that of out-of-school education, and more particularly noncredit out-of-formal-school education. Any attempt at definition, however, can, at best, be but a marginal concept. Furthermore, whether it is "education" or "propaganda," the fine point of a panel discussion recently reported in *Adult Education and Democracy*¹ is not a point at issue in this analysis, important as that point is. Neither will the important differentiation between "education" and "training" be considered here.

¹New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1936

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

Adult education through college and university extension has been a function of many of the States since the turn of the century. It has taken two methods of approach—coöperative agricultural extension and so-called general university extension.

Coöperative Agricultural Extension. Coöperative agricultural extension had its background in the agricultural societies and agricultural fairs of the previous century. These paved the way for the Land-Grant College Act of 1862 and subsequent acts of the Federal Government establishing the agricultural colleges. The first phase of this adult-education movement was under the name "farmers' institutes," which reached their peak soon after 1900. These early institutes were founded on the idea of "educating by telling."² Many adaptations have been made in the institutes that have persisted to the present time. They were succeeded, in the main, by another teaching method, which may be called "educating by demonstrating." This method really grew out of the work of R. A. Moore with young people's corn clubs in Wisconsin in 1897. Nationally it grew out of the farmers' institutes and out of a problem situation in the cotton South, to teach methods of combating the cotton boll weevil, and was almost immediately accepted.³ Out of the background of these problem situations and of the use of the demonstration method came the Smith-Lever Law of 1914, laying the legal foundation for Cooperative Agricultural Extension Work. This made Federal funds available on a cooperative basis with State funds for a program that is now being carried on in all of the forty-eight States and outlying territories. This 1914 grant of Federal funds has since been supplemented a number of times.

Meanwhile, conditions in the field of agriculture have undergone

² For this trilogy of development in the methods of Cooperative Agricultural Extension Work the author is indebted to Eugene Merritt, United States Department of Agriculture.

³ O. B. Martin, *The Demonstration Work* (Boston: Stratford Company, 1921).

a very rapid transition. The problem, which originally was one chiefly of producing on the farms an adequate supply of quality products, has shifted. It is now one of adjusting production on the farms to supply adequate financial return and a desirable standard of living. In other words, the central problem of agriculture has shifted from one of production to one of distribution—from an individual problem on the many separate farms to a group problem involving the interrelation of farmers. Furthermore, whereas they could once think largely in terms of only their own farms, now they must think in terms of broader agricultural policies. This transition has been a very vital factor in bringing to the foreground a third method of education, which we might call "education by discussion." The points of view of the many separate farmers and groups of farmers in this process of adjustment must somehow or other be reconciled into a group product. The old farmers' institute method and the newer demonstration method would not do the job. This made necessary the use of a group method of thinking—the study-discussion method. Coöperative agricultural extension work is in this third stage of its methodological development today, hence the rapid acceptance of this study-discussion method—particularly in the economic, social, and cultural fields.

Although the Cooperative Agricultural Extension service is directly supervised from the Federal Office of Agricultural Extension Work in the United States Department of Agriculture, each State must employ a competent full-time agricultural-extension director. The real administration of the program rests with this State director. He has under him a small group of assistant supervisors and a larger staff of specialists representing the various subject-matter disciplines in the curriculum of the college. These specialists are responsible for extending the subject matter of their particular field to the people of the State. They are assisted in this regard, however, by the largest groups of all, the county extension representatives. Just as the State must watch, within the broad limits prescribed by

law, the funds allocated to it from the Federal Government, the counties, if they wish to have a county extension representative, must supplement the funds allocated to them from the State and Federal Government. In some counties they do this entirely from tax funds; in other counties by private contributions.

General University Extension General university extension had its beginnings at Oxford and Cambridge soon after the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ It was first introduced into the United States in 1890 at Philadelphia, and in New York soon thereafter, where it was likewise carried on independent of the universities. General university extension was first set up as a part of the machinery of a university in Wisconsin in 1892, and at the University of Chicago the same year. The first separate department was set up at the University of Wisconsin in 1906, with a coördinate dean and faculty of its own and under a new conception as an extension function for a university. Its goal, in the words of the founder, President C. R. Van Hise, was "to make the campus of the university coterminous with the boundaries of the State." Soon thereafter general university extension was established in about half of the States. Today, over fifty universities, well distributed over the United States, have separate extension departments.

General university extension had its origin in the desire of university teachers to extend their work beyond the campus through lectures and classes, and later by correspondence-study courses. It was a carry-over from the mass movement of formal education through the schools. From the beginning it was very different from, in fact almost opposite to, agricultural extension, which was charged with teaching farmers in the background of the understanding and experiences of farmers. Short courses, institutes, and study of vital questions of the day through group discussions and

¹W. H. Lighty, "Some Adult Education Backgrounds," *Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of the National University Extension Association*, 1935.

debates soon followed as a method for university extension, and later traveling exhibits, community lyceums, and "applied" demonstrations were introduced. Today these short courses, exhibits, and demonstrations are being set up and carried out by many of the resident departments of the universities, other State agencies, and private organizations. The interest in lyceums as a means of extension teaching has fallen off. Meanwhile, some outlying centers have established rather complete curricula of university classes, and in a few instances the equivalent of the complete freshman and sophomore years is being offered. Cultural subjects including drama, music, and pageantry are achieving more recognition, and classes and forums in the subject-matter fields of economics, sociology, political science, and education are increasingly popular. The latter, particularly, have accentuated the demand for good study and discussion materials.

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH SPECIAL STATE SHORT COURSES

Special State schools or short courses sponsored by State educational agencies may or may not be identified with the extension programs mentioned above, and they are becoming so important in recent years that they deserve special mention. Initiative in setting up these short courses is usually taken by representatives of these State schools of higher learning, and plans are worked out with other State agencies and in cooperation with the State or national organizations of the groups concerned. They are usually noncredit short courses from a few days to several weeks in duration, with the instructional staff provided primarily by the college or university but sometimes partly by the organizations whose representatives attend. The physical facilities, including classrooms, laboratories, and sometimes dormitories, are provided by the college or university, and always in the background is its scholarly atmosphere, because these schools are usually held on the campus. The objectives of these schools are to extend the facilities of the college or university

to the citizens of the State in a plan of continuing education and to interpret in terms of rapidly changing conditions the most recent findings science has to offer. Sometimes there is a small fee for attending.

The extent of the development of some of these schools may be illustrated by the program at the University of Wisconsin. Last year under its sponsorship the following special State schools and short courses were held: the agricultural short course, modeled somewhat after the Danish folk schools, running for fifteen weeks; the School for Workers in Industry, for six weeks; the Rural Ministers' Summer School continuing for two weeks; the School in Cooperative Management running one week; the rural electrification short course for one week; the winter dairy course for twelve weeks; school administrators' institute for one week; the greenskeepers' course for three days. There were many others. Invariably the instruction in these schools was of a very practical nature. Their popularity reflects a definite desire on the part of large numbers of people already decided on or established in an occupation or profession to discuss their experiences with each other and to return at intervals to specialized schools and schools of higher learning in order that they may keep abreast of the times.

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH RADIO

Radio is probably the newest medium for adult education, and its justification for separate consideration is that it is new and that its use is still a highly controversial matter. The debatable issues are in two fields. Its relative effectiveness as a medium, and the way it should be administered. Private broadcasting facilities, which are seldom concerned with any one State as such, are obviously not a direct consideration under this analysis, but State-owned and operated or State-leased facilities are. The extension services of the colleges and universities and various State governmental departments are frequently identified with the State-owned or leased

radio, looking to it as an additional medium to supplement the printed word, visual aids, and the face-to-face meeting. Its staff, therefore, in addition to the technical or administrative staff for radio itself, comprises the regular instruction or technical staff who can be persuaded to expand their audiences through the use of radio.

There are about twenty-five university owned and operated radio stations in the United States today, including those of a number of State universities. There are no independent State stations as such. The funds available for these stations are as yet very limited. The programs are laid out and administered with regard to that State, including such features as farmers' hours, homemakers' hours, schools of the air, colleges of the air, and special broadcasts for schools of the State. In addition there are many discussions and forums on public problems.

Starting less than ten years ago on any sort of comprehensive scale, the place of the radio in a plan of adult education is not yet established. It must be a very potent agency; otherwise why should the commercial broadcasting companies be so anxious to monopolize the better hours and channels and be so reluctant to give way to publicly owned and operated educational stations? Furthermore, experimental data are beginning to show that, in addition to the attitudes that are created, a large number of objective facts are learned and retained by the listeners.

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH STATE LIBRARY AGENCIES

The State library agencies available for adult education are differently organized and have varying functions.⁶ They, like the other agencies for adult education, have changed and expect to continue to change from time to time. They are agencies financed by State funds and usually operate either as a State library department, State library commission, or division of the department of public educa-

⁶ See the recent report of the American Library Association, Chicago

tion. At the present time, all but four of the States have State library agencies. Four of those legally set up, however, at present have no appropriations. There is a real desire for Federal aid for the library agencies, and the American Library Association is on record for Federal aid. The reason for this is clearly set forth in the statement, "any form of adequate library service, or any progress in library service demands more money than we are getting now, and that more money can most fairly come from Federal aid."⁶

Many State library agencies provide consecutive courses of reading outlined by members of their staffs. State library agencies, however, do not usually construe their functions as being that of setting up and administering adult-education programs. Although one of the first recognized and one of the most aggressive agencies in the adult-education movement, they interpret their role as being "an accessory for adult-education programs." To supplement the local and county libraries, and by mail or traveling libraries to make books available to people beyond the reach of these local libraries, to maintain an effective standard of library service, and to develop a high quality of library personnel they set forth as their chief tasks. It is obvious, therefore, that a responsibility rests with those in the administrative and organizational field of adult education, first, to familiarize themselves and their workers with the facilities available through such accessory services as the library agencies, and, second, to work closely with them in keeping the book stock up-to-date, available in quantity, of balanced nature at the time it will be needed.

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH SPECIAL-INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS

So far we have discussed only the public systems of State organizations for adult education. The field is not limited to public agencies by any means, nor should it be limited to them. In any democratic

⁶ C. B. Lester, "The Need for Federal Aid," *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, XXIX, 2 (February 1935), pp. 64-66.

country there must continually be full and free opportunity for citizens individually and collectively to give expression to a point of view they may hold and to attempt to recruit a following. The assumption of the adult-education procedure is that through time we can depend upon the inherent sound judgment of the masses and that the truth will prevail. The only limitation is that there be freedom fully to express and discuss all sides of each and every issue.

This approach is illustrated by the educational work of the League of Women Voters, Parent-Teacher Association, Manufacturers' Association, Tax Payers' Alliance, Federation of Labor, Farmers' Equity-Union, and the Grange, to mention only a few of these very many voluntary organizations. Most of these organizations also have national and local units as well as their State units. But very frequently the State units have part-time or even full-time paid officers and representatives, financed by funds collected from the members of the organization. Studies and surveys are made by these representatives; bulletins, newspapers, and magazine articles are prepared and distributed by them; speeches are made; discussion meetings are arranged for; and continual attempts are made to mold public opinion and influence legislation in the direction that they believe to be desirable. Frequently these interest organizations call on public agencies as well as other interest organizations for results of their studies, to present different points of view on matters before them, and to discuss with them desirable ends to be attained.

Even though it is outside the central theme of this analysis, any mention of these special-interest organizations would be distorted without calling attention to their most vital function in any plan of adult education. Built, as practically all of them are, on a foundation of local community units, these units today provide the vital functioning adult-education units in a democratic society. These local units, which are the modern replicas of the New England town meeting, reflect the collective effort of the great masses of local citizens to identify themselves with the civic, social, and educational

life of their community, their State, and their nation. Here the great masses contribute their bit to the group-thinking process of their State, and maul over the ideas that later find expression through their governmental representative, through their lobbyist, or in the ballot box. These local voluntary interest groups are today the most effective functional adult-education units in our democracy.

There are other State approaches that might or might not be included in this analysis of State organization for adult education. But since we are dealing with a marginal concept and because of space limitations it has become necessary to exclude such activities as vocational education, Americanization classes, State subsidy for local adult education, and State participation in the Federal program of emergency education.

SOME SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS

Now, what are some of the outstanding characteristics of these various State agencies for adult education? First, there is an increasing realization on the part of educators in State circles that education, in a democratic country, must extend beyond the confines of the formal classroom to all the people of the State. Along with this is the realization that education is a continuing process starting in the younger years but continuing throughout life.

Second, the State agencies moving most rapidly in the direction of adult education are the State institutions of higher learning that have been vested with educational responsibilities. The ones pushing out most aggressively at present on the State level are the college and university extension services. The cooperative agricultural extension service, which has always been very informal in its methods of teaching, is rapidly adding the "discussion method." General university extension, which started with the more formal methods, is becoming more informal. Both of these types of extension, together with resident staffs, have developed numerous special noncredit short courses as a means, under the scholarly atmosphere of a college or

university, of making the most recent discoveries of their fields of inquiry available to special occupational and professional groups in their State. Meanwhile, experimenting is being done, largely through these same two agencies, in the use of the radio as an additional medium for adult education. The State library agencies recognize their role as being accessory to adult-education programs, but wish to become more effective in that role.

The third significant development for adult education at the State level is in the field of private initiative through the State-wide offices of special-interest organizations. These reflect the approaches of the different occupational groups or special interests. Usually these groups start with the desire to discover and interpret the facts as they apply to their particular occupation or interest. Always the conclusions are arrived at with regard to certain background philosophies. Emanating from the State office, programs are then drawn up spreading throughout the State. The need frequently exists for reconciling these programs with proposals coming from other groups or with the findings of public educational agencies. This reconciliation and interpretation constitutes both the field and the justification for adult education.

INTEGRATION OF ADULT EDUCATION

We now arrive at the conclusion that the major public responsibility for the State organization and administration of adult education rests with and is gradually being assumed by the State educational institutions of college and university level. These are supplemented, from the public point of view, by library agencies that are set up independently, and, from the private point of view, by State officers and representatives of special-interest organizations. There is need for integration of these programs⁷ at the State level both within and between these agencies. There is also need for closer integration

⁷ The concept used here is one of integration of programs but not of ideas. It is recognized that a close integration of ideas at the Federal or State level may prove fatal to a democracy.

between State and Federal agencies, for example with the emergency education program. There is, again, need for closer integration between the State and community, county, or city programs, for example with the vocational-education program and the new forums emanating directly from the National Office of Education. Then again there are relationships that need to be worked out between these public agencies operating at the national, State, or local levels and the thousands of private local groups, many of which are integrated on no level whatever. It is inevitable that there be both gaps and overlaps in the present system. Space permits only brief reference to methods of working out these relationships.

At least one sound approach to this matter of integration of adult education would seem to be closer working relationship at each of these various levels. With the use of Federal money and increasing grants of Federal aid, it seems that as far as these public agencies are concerned this should start from the national level. This might well include the coöperative agricultural extension work, vocational education, emergency education, and the Federal forums.

This would then make possible integration at the next level—the State level—certainly as far as the use of funds coming from the Federal Government is concerned. Then to the circle could be added those public agencies, such as general university extension, the State library agencies, and the radio, originating entirely at the State level. But with or without coördination on the national level, it appears that many States are now in a position to go farther than they have gone in integrating their efforts in this field of adult education.⁸ Starting with a small informal group or committee representing State-wide public agencies, it could develop slowly, later bringing representatives of State-wide private organizations around the council table.

Movements in the direction of coördination are particularly

⁸ W. H. Stacy, *Integration of Adult Education* (New York: Columbia University Bureau of Publications, 1935)

difficult with regard to a coordinated administration. It does seem, however, that, given time to work them out, there are two possible approaches. One is a division of labor on the basis of area or function. The other is coordination through the interrelating of staffs and of physical plants. The first of these seems, offhand, to have the most ready appeal, but there are two serious difficulties encountered. The one is that the people of the State with whom adult educators work never completely understand these divisions, and the second is that staffs frequently do not adhere to them. The interrelating of staffs seems to offer enough promise to justify more thorough testing. Perhaps in time, as has already been demonstrated in a few cases, it may make possible a coordinated State administration.

The level where the need for integration of programs and ideas is greatest and where it must take place at least to a partial degree is in the local community. Here ideas coming from the "grass roots" up meet the "impact" of ideas coming from the agencies without, and either a reconciliation must be made or certain exterior influences and agencies rejected. It is here that Federal programs for emergency education, for vocational education, and for agricultural extension, State funds for university extension, for libraries, and for radio, the influence of the private press and of the national and State offices of special-interest organizations, and county and local educational agencies and organizations make their adjustments in the methods and thought processes of local citizens as they gather in their community meeting. It seems very probable that the role of the local school and particularly the community high school will be extended to discharge more completely this important out-of-school adult-education task.

A WPA PROGRAM OF ADULT EDUCATION, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

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Much has been spoken and written concerning the shortcomings of the WPA Adult Education Program. Too little has been said about the accomplishments of that program. True, the venture was launched as an emergency measure with relief the primary, and education the secondary, objective. The technique of approach was predominantly that of "trial and error," with the result that many of the initial efforts were crude and questionable. Some educational monstrosities did come into being and it is probable there are many others still to be born. But the exigencies of the situation demanded action. There was no rich reservoir of experience in the realm of adult education in the United States that might be drawn upon for guidance. The experience of our European brethren was of little value since their adult activities evolved to meet their specific social, economic, and political problems, which were quite different from our own.

Despite those handicaps, there is ample evidence to sustain the conclusion that the contributions of the WPA Adult Education Program to our people justify the expenditures we have made. Who among us would deny that that program has made America adult-education-conscious for the first time? Should not the very lack of uniformity in that program throughout our great country set at ease those professional educators who fear that Federal financial assistance to our public schools would mean the surrender of essential local prerogatives? The informality of instruction and the adjustments to purely local needs distinguish the successful from the unsuccessful WPA offerings. Content, too, takes on added significance, for the voluntary adult student demands commodities

rather than coupons. Apply the same measuring rods to public-school education or to college education and the emergency program may not suffer by comparison.

Educational accomplishments on all levels increase or decrease in direct proportion to the caliber of the leadership exercised. Not all of the individuals charged with the responsibility of organizing, supervising, and administering the emergency program have objectified educational statesmanship. However, many have not been devoid of the qualifications essential to dynamic educational leadership. Due to the oversupply of teachers, many very capable people have been secured to instruct adult groups, and a number of them, because of meritorious service, have been advanced to supervisory and administrative offices.

The Emergency Program of Adult Education in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, can be cited to objectify the potentialities of a WPA program. That county, sixty miles northeast of the commonwealth capital, Harrisburg, embraces an area of 800 square miles. It has a population of approximately 235,000, eleven per cent of whom are foreign born. The nationality backgrounds of the inhabitants are Russian, Polish, Italian, English, Irish, Welsh, and Czech in descending numerical progression. Schuylkill County is in the center of the anthracite coal region where the ravages of the depression have been doubly acute due to the decadence of the hard-coal industry. The production of anthracite in the region during 1936 was only one half what it had been in the peak year of 1923. That estimate does not include the "take-out" from the widely publicized "bootleg coal" holes that dot the entire county. That extralegal mining, while it may prove a boomerang to the miners eventually, served as a temporary stopgap, at least, to a more serious revolt. The number of workers in the collieries had declined almost fifty per cent during the thirteen-year period, but the population of the county had diminished less than ten per cent. The number of new industries attracted to Schuylkill County was negligible and, as a

result, the surplus man power could not be assimilated in the area through vocational rehabilitation.

"Bootlegging" coal is indicative of the action that will probably be followed by the "have-nots" in other industries if, through competition or mechanization, large numbers of workers are not privileged to toil. The only alternatives under our present system are vocational rehabilitation with resettlement if necessary, or an adequate schedule of Federal financial relief. Relief grants did help save, or postpone, *der Tag* in Schuylkill County. The dire economic plight of the workers there is attested by the fact that during 1934-1935 approximately twenty per cent of the population was on relief. At one time or other during the emergency the Federal Government has assisted 34,950 families in the county.

In the midst of that troubled scene a program of adult education was launched in November 1933. Mr. L. A. BuDahn, superintendent of schools at Pottsville, the county seat, was the motivating force. Although no funds were available, four or five unemployed teachers, among them the present district superintendent, Walter F. Jones, volunteered to serve. Classes were organized and the number of enrollments mounted. Other cities and villages in the county followed the experiment with interest. The moment the success of the Pottsville project was assured, there came a spontaneous demand for a similar type of program on a county-wide basis. At that time the Emergency Council of Adult Education and Recreation of Schuylkill County was born. That Council, while its membership has been enlisted largely from the ranks of professional educators, does include the librarian of a public library and a labor-union representative. In addition, the Council has secured the cooperation of the service clubs, the clergy, municipal officials, various nationality groups, the Red Cross, the National Youth Administration, the Governor's Disaster Relief Committee, and many civic-minded individuals.

From that humble beginning Schuylkill County's program has

expanded until today more than one hundred and fifty teachers are employed to provide instruction in 95 types of activity in 24 different communities. The project has been financed in turn by the CWA, LWD, and WPA. It has been supplemented in many instances by local school boards, the State Department of Public Instruction, service clubs, welfare boards, and public-spirited individuals.

The achievements marking Schuylkill County's adventures in adult education are monuments to democratic leadership, cooperation, and intelligent followership. The superintendent, when questioned recently concerning the objectives of the program, offered the following explanation: "The thought uppermost in our minds has been that of service to the individuals and the communities sponsoring the activities. The aim has always been to do the job so well that the service will remain as an important and permanent part of the community's educational and social setup. In no way has the program attempted any of the work ordinarily carried on by the school districts, but in every case it has supplemented those activities. In addition it has offered to the 'older children' the opportunities they either neglected or were unable to avail themselves of as children. In other areas we have attempted to equip the adult with new controls of behavior to replace those, inculcated during youth, which have become obsolete and outmoded in the rapidly changing social, economic, and political scene."

What are some of the projects in Schuylkill County's program which seem destined to continue if, as, and when the national emergency ceases to exist and Federal funds are no longer available? A tour of a portion of the county, as much as time and space will permit, may reveal units already taking on some semblance of permanency.

We begin at Pottsville. Down to 401 Minersville Street we journey to Lincoln House in the heart of the "Bloody Fifth" Ward. Up three or four steps, across an attractive porch, and we are welcomed in a large recreation room. Children of different ages, most of them

Negro, are engaged in various play activities. We pause for a few moments and then proceed to the second floor. Here we discover a music studio, a health clinic, a sewing room, and a home-economics suite. A number of women, a majority Negro, are participating in the various activities under the guidance of teachers provided by the WPA.

Next we enter the office of the executive secretary and the romance of Lincoln House unfolds. Two murders in the area shocked the Pottsville Interracial Committee into existence in December 1933. The services of a Negro social worker were secured "to survey the Fifth Ward and submit recommendations for the rehabilitation of the area, embracing social, educational, and recreational projects." The survey is completed, a program formulated for all ages and nationality groups, and the project is inaugurated. Housing facilities for the activities are secured in churches, schools, and residences. The teaching personnel is paid by Uncle Sam through the Emergency Relief Administration.

The program expands rapidly. More adequate facilities are imperative. Two drives for funds by the Interracial Committee net \$3,400. A building is leased and renovated. It is dedicated on June 16, 1935, when it is quite appropriately christened Lincoln House. These funds, secured through voluntary contributions, are earmarked for operating expenses other than salaries, which are met by the Works Progress Administration. With the inauguration of Pottsville's Community Chest in 1936, an additional \$3,900 was made available to Lincoln House.

In the light of present economic distress, why has Pottsville rallied to the support of Lincoln House? Superintendent L. A. BuDahn of the city schools states: "We have had a great deal less difficulty with Negro and foreign-born children from the Fifth Ward in the last few years, which I believe is entirely due to the influence that Lincoln House is exerting over that section of our city." Dr. Diller, president of the Board of Education, reports in a similar vein: "The

adults have been attracted in large numbers to Lincoln House by the opportunities offered for recreation and self-improvement. As a result the whole tone of the community has changed for the better." Mayor Claude A. Lord reports that "conditions have been considerably improved and the good of the entire section is manifested in the lack of police court cases from this district." Dr. A. B. Fleming, for ten years president of the Schuylkill County Law Enforcement League, writes to Mr. Merchant, the executive secretary at Lincoln House, as follows: "Since your very much worth-while social and religious work has been going on in that neighborhood, we have noted a substantial improvement in the morals of both Negroes and whites in the Fifth Ward of your city. We have less complaints to handle. Crime has been lessened and I have felt perfectly safe to motor through your neighborhood either by day or night during the past year or two."

Loath as we may be to do so, we must take our leave of Lincoln House.¹ We must likewise bid at least a temporary adieu to Pottsville. We have not had time to observe the splendid recreation program in which several thousand are participating, or the inspiring series of musical offerings for adults. We are en route to Tamaqua, a journey of sixteen miles.

We enter this typical coal-region city of 13,000 inhabitants and make for the public library. Tamaqua, which is within a radius of 120 miles of the nation's metropolis, had no public library prior to 1934. At that time workers on the WPA Adult Education Program canvassed the city for donations of books, secured makeshift quarters, and made a start. In a very short period of time Tamaqua became "library conscious" and enough pressure was exerted upon the city fathers so that more adequate facilities were provided.

Here we are at the Tamaqua Library. We must descend a flight of stairs. We enter a basement room which is as attractive as any

¹ For a more complete description of this project see "Pottsville's Planners Point the Way," *Social Science, A Quarterly*, XII, 2 (April 1937)

room below the ground level can be. It is well lighted, heated, and ventilated. The books are neatly shelved and carefully classified. The covers of recently acquired volumes are attractively displayed. The circulation desk at which are seated two librarians is on our left as we enter. We chat with the librarians and learn that the library has catalogued by subject and author some 8,000 volumes. More than 3,000 readers have registered, with approximately 25 per cent of that number drawing upon the library facilities weekly.

The WPA library project at Tamaqua has been duplicated on a somewhat smaller scale in seven other communities in Schuylkill County. As a result, more than 10,000 people in Schuylkill Haven, Orwigsburg, Tower City, Tremont, Girardville, Minersville, Porter Township, and Tamaqua have been enabled to utilize their leisure more constructively. The librarians of those units convene weekly at Pottsville for conference and instruction. Two additional libraries will be opened in the immediate future: one at Coaldale and the other at Mahanoy City.

The latter city, some ten miles distant from Tamaqua, is our next objective. Our winding route takes us through a mountainous, sparsely populated region. We constantly meet trucks engaged in transporting "bootleg coal." We climb to the summit of the highest range we have yet encountered, begin a hazardous descent, and almost from nowhere looms below us Mahanoy City with its 15,000 inhabitants, most of whom are concentrated in an area of less than two square miles. The financial resources of the city, never really adequate, are now dangerously low. Mahanoy Township, which adjoins Mahanoy City, has the assessed valuation, while the latter has proportionately the greater population. Here we find again a condition all too prevalent in America: adjacent communities with greatly varying ability to support public enterprises. Visit the high school in Mahanoy Township and then its counterpart in Mahanoy City a half mile distant and you have objective evidence that the ideal of democracy in education in the United States, equality of

educational opportunity for all our youth, is far from realization. Can we even approach that ideal if education remains a function reserved for the individual States? Perhaps some development from the WPA will lead to an equalization of opportunity in education more in harmony with the philosophy of democracy on the elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels—as it has in the adult area.

In Mahanoy City we proceed first to the nursery school that the WPA inaugurated in February 1934. It is housed in an elementary-school building. The full-time paid personnel provided by the WPA includes a teacher, a nurse, and a cook. There is an advisory board made up of the following: the superintendent of schools, the school nurse, a physician, a dentist, an oculist, and several other prominent men and women. Thirty children from two and one-half to five years of age, enrolled from families on relief, participate in the daily activities from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. The program is designed to stimulate the proper physical, social, and mental development of each child. Adequate health services and supervision are provided. In addition to two periods for light refreshments, dinner is served for the children. Several organized play periods are scheduled, and other portions of the day are devoted to story telling, music, dramatics, dancing, and creative opportunities of varied types. To ensure the carry-over of the nursery school into the home, general conferences with the parents of the children are held every two weeks. Interviews with individual parents are daily occurrences.

The atmosphere in the nursery school is that of freedom and liberty but not license. It reminds one of the Fröbel Pestalozzi House in Berlin during the pre-Hitler era. The children are clean, healthy, happy, and perfectly at ease in their relationships with schoolmates and visitors. Considering the homes from whence they come, one concludes that probably the depression was a blessing in disguise for many of them.

In Mahanoy City we find, too, a program of the more formal type of WPA adult-education activities which is indicative of the offerings made available to the residents of Schuylkill County. The program is housed in the high school. The activities for the semester beginning February 1, 1937, are as follows:

Elementary English	German I
Intermediate English	French I
Advanced English	Music appreciation
Letter writing	Harmony
Psychology	Piano
Business arithmetic	Voice
American government	Chorus
Current events	Drawing
Shorthand I, II, III	Dramatics
Typewriting	Crafts
Spanish I, II	Physical education

Two significant statements appear in the bulletin announcing the courses:

1. A certificate will be issued to students who satisfactorily complete the work in any high-school subject
2. Special arrangements will be made for those who must be absent every other week because of night work.

We move on now from Mahanoy City to Shenandoah,⁹ a journey of less than five miles. The terrain through which we pass is even more ugly than the usual mining area, due to the unsightly strip-mining operations. We enter the city and are directed to the Community Center, which might more appropriately be designated as a community workshop. On the third floor of an old factory building we encounter a beehive of activity. Here at one end is a group of adults making furniture: the creations vary from bookends to cedar chests. In the center of the laboratory, metalwork operations are in progress: one adult of Greek nationality, the owner of a res-

⁹ George R. Leighton, "Shenandoah, Pennsylvania—The Epic of an Anthracite Town," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXIV, 1040 (January 1937), pp. 131-147

taurant in Shenandoah, is securing self-expression through creations in metal, the techniques of which art he learned as a boy in Greece. He has objectified through models the evolution of lighting. At the other end of the workshop we find an artist's studio. The quality of the creations of this group convinces one that America does not lack talent in this sphere but lacks merely the opportunities to develop its latent capacities. Perhaps the WPA may hasten the day when we shall not be forced to import our "masterpieces."

While we are observing the workshop activities, the WPA band arrives and begins its rehearsal. The quality of the music is unusual. Inquiries reveal that the personnel, too, is unusual; one instrumentalist had been associated with Sousa, another had been a member of the United States Marine Band, while three others of German extraction had had previous band experience. A number of the group journeyed ten miles or more to participate. Surely it is safe to conclude that the workshop at Shenandoah and the three other similar centers in Schuylkill County are making positive contributions to a more complete life for at least a sector of the adults in the county.

Shenandoah, because of its accessibility, has been selected as one of the two centers in Schuylkill County for the in-service teacher training of WPA personnel. Here, once a week for a two-hour period, thirty-five teachers meet with a university instructor to explore some phase of adult education. The current unit for group study is captioned "Community Values in Adult Education." Each teacher enrolled assists in financing the project through the payment of a twenty-dollar fee for the fifteen two-hour sessions. No pressure to enroll is exerted upon the staff, so the rather general participation is a reliable index to the professional attitude of those teachers. Other units entailing little or no expense have also been made available.

Meet and confer with those teachers, observe them in action, and you will soon sense that as a group they are conscientious, enthusias-

tic, and democratic in their staff and student relationships. They have caught the spirit of the pioneer and they are imbued with the ideal of service. They warrant and will achieve a more secure future. The educational philosophy and social perspective of those educators may surprise you somewhat, but bear in mind that you are observing the victims—or beneficiaries—of the worst depression this country has ever known. In years and professional experience they are young; yet they are commissioned to lead adults. What a contrast to our established educational institutions where age, in accordance with its own standards, continued to dominate youth!

The WPA in Schuylkill County is determined to stamp out illiteracy, which at the inauguration of the program handicapped approximately four per cent of the population. We shall, therefore, accompany one of the young Americanization instructors from the teacher-training center in Shenandoah to a home in Raven Run. We roll along the main thoroughfare to Lost Creek, turn right up a treacherous mountain road, and continue for five miles. After what seems like an eternity—several times during the ascent you feared lest it would be just that—you come upon Raven Run, a hamlet of several hundred inhabitants, most of whom are of Italian extraction. We enter one of the residences, which is well ordered now since the teacher makes two visits a week. Four adults ranging in age from twenty-five to forty-five are seated around a table on which there are books and papers. Two of the group are absent tonight due to illness. Informal exercises in reading, spelling, and oral English are enjoyed and the period passes all too quickly. The adult students take as much pride in their achievements as children do. They enjoy the sessions because of the sympathetic, human approach of the young teacher and they are genuinely sorry when she must take her leave to conduct a similar session in some other home.

Schuylkill County's program of Americanization aims at more than the mere elimination of illiteracy and the procurement of citizenship papers. It strives to preserve for America the cultural heritage of the varied nationality groups that comprise our citi-

zenry. It recognizes that those groups have a positive contribution to make to the enrichment of our own culture. The program, therefore, constantly glorifies the contributions of each nationality group and has succeeded, at least partially, in fostering an appreciation and tolerance of one group for the other. The Festival of Nations Pageant presented in Shenandoah in May 1936, and repeated in various other cities in Schuylkill County upon popular request, personified the true spirit of America. There, joined together by the bond of a new allegiance, Polish-, Czechoslovakian-, Russian-, German-, Italian-, and Irish-Americans, in native regalia, proudly presented their folk songs and dances. And it was our own native born who clamored most vociferously for the repeat performances.

Our superficial tour of Schuylkill County is now completed. It has been conducted unscientifically, but we are safe in concluding that the WPA Adult Education Program has brought a measure of inspiration and hope to many humans in that drab area. True, there are adult-education problems in the region that are still unsolved; guidance, vocational rehabilitation, and, perhaps, resettlement. However, a start has been made and the initial returns indicate that there is as much latent mental energy on the surface as physical energy stored beneath the earth's crust in that area.

Accomplishments comparable with those in Schuylkill County have been achieved by WPA workers in many other sections of the United States. It is high time that our Government, our citizenry, and our professional educators recognize those contributions and accord to those pioneers the faith, confidence, and support they merit. Adult education alone can stimulate that renaissance which is imperative if our democracy is to survive. Techniques must be devised to enable adults to discover their interests and needs, and opportunities must be provided to develop those interests and needs. Adult education is as simple—and as difficult—as just that. The WPA is only one of the numerous agencies dedicated to lead an enlightened America over the new frontiers. We cannot afford it? We cannot afford to be without it!

ADULT EDUCATION IN GREATER BOSTON¹

REVEREND M. J. AHERN, S.J.

Adult Education Council of Greater Boston

The metropolitan area of Greater Boston consists of thirty-six towns and cities within a radius of fourteen miles from the Statehouse. This area has a total population of approximately 3,000,000. Within the area are twelve institutions of higher learning, in addition to the school systems of the towns and cities. Adult education in this area may be said to have been initiated by John Lowell, Jr., in 1836 when he established the public lectures in the City of Boston under "The Lowell Institute." These lectures were first opened to the public in 1839. They are maintained annually under the will of John Lowell and are at present in their ninety-seventh year.

It is impossible at the present writing to estimate with any accuracy the tens of thousands of people who have listened to these lectures. Professor W. H. Lawrence, curator of Lowell Institute, states that there have been 780 courses and 6,975 individual lectures delivered from the Lowell Institute platform. The wide scope of these lectures may be seen from the following analysis of courses given in the ten-year period 1921-1922 to 1931-1932: natural science 33, social history 19, philosophy 16, social science 9, religious history 4, archaeology 3.

These Lowell lectures coöperate with the University Extension Lectures that are provided by an association of colleges in and about Boston. As such they may count toward the degree of "adjunct in arts." Of course, strictly speaking, courses toward a degree may not be called courses in adult education. But in view of the fact that many thousands of persons elect these courses for their purely cultural value, they may be said to be fine examples of education for adults.

¹ The writer is grateful to Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Miss Dorothy Hewitt, and to Miss Zelda Lions for much of the information contained in this article.

Of course, during the century of the existence of the Lowell Institute several score associations, both those connected and those not connected with educational institutions, have maintained adult-education courses of a very wide variety. Among these perhaps the most outstanding have been the courses under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston.

Somewhat over a quarter of a century ago there was much agitation in Massachusetts for the establishment of a State university. This did not eventuate nor has it been established up to the present. However, the State maintains a Division of University Extension. These courses are elected by some twelve to fifteen thousand people throughout the State each year.

I think I shall not be criticized for stating, as a matter of personal opinion, that the establishment and endowment of the Prospect Union Educational Exchange, conducted by the Prospect Union Association of Cambridge, which was incorporated in 1896, made the first systematic study and cataloguing of courses in adult education available in Greater Boston. The Prospect Union publishes an annual catalogue entitled "Educational Opportunities of Greater Boston for Working Men and Women." The fourteenth catalogue of the Exchange, for 1936-1937, lists 3,500 late afternoon and evening courses. The Exchange emphasizes that the list of schools and courses given is selective rather than exhaustive. The Exchange investigates all the schools listed in the catalogue, and enumerates only those courses which have been found to give evidence of serious educational purpose. The Exchange is also an accrediting agency and its purpose is to present information and guidance to all who may need it. No fee is accepted from any school or agency listed. The Exchange is supported by endowments, and its files contain information also on college-grade courses and professional and semiprofessional schools, and it will take care of inquiries that can be referred to sources of information on special

schools for handicapped persons, private schools, tutorial agencies, and schools for minors. It must be admitted by every one interested in adult education that this Prospect Union Educational Exchange is doing a splendid piece of work in providing educational opportunities for each and every citizen, especially those opportunities which he needs most or which occupy whatever leisure time he may possess.

The establishment in 1933 of the Twentieth Century Adult Education Centre may be said to have established in Boston a university for adult education. In the summer of that year a small group of men and women interested in education as a life process came together to discuss a need, which had already been sensed in our changing social order, for adult education. Opportunities of a type that up to this time had been almost nonexistent in greater Boston had been discovered. Despite the many educational opportunities enumerated in the preceding paragraphs of this article, small, intimate, well-organized, expertly led cultural study groups were almost entirely missing.

With this need in mind and before attempting to secure the financial backing ultimately necessary to any educational project serving a cross section of the community, the organizing committee went ahead on a voluntary basis to test the validity of the idea. Of course, the thing of first importance was to secure the leadership of persons who were not only experts in their field but who had personalities that were impressive and who were interested in the cultural advance of all people. The courses were limited to study groups of twenty-five persons or less. In this way, each person in the course became well acquainted with the leader and with the other members of the group. A homelike atmosphere, consisting of living rooms in the Twentieth Century Club building with comfortable chairs, lamps, rugs, pictures, and fireplaces, was insisted upon and unflinching achieved. A carefully selected board of directors was chosen. The president and founder of this Centre was Professor

Kirtley F. Mather, professor of geology at Harvard University and director of its summer sessions. He has been, since the initiation of the Centre, ably assisted by Miss Dorothy Hewitt as director. The fees were set at the relatively nominal charge of five dollars for a ten weeks' series. With characteristic generosity a few scholarships were provided through private gifts for those who otherwise would not have taken the courses. During its first year there were 1,250 enrollments in the 71 courses distributed over the three terms. Over 700 applicants had to be turned away.

The leaders of these courses served practically on a voluntary basis, and were drawn from such places as Harvard University, Simmons College, Boston College, Smith College, Massachusetts School of Art, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The report of this first year's session tells us that people of all types joined these groups: milkmen, lawyers, bookkeepers, building contractors, domestics, physicians, ministers, locksmiths, housewives, elevator operators, dental hygienists, laundrymen, engineers, executives, unemployed persons, bank tellers, art supervisors, wage investigators, stock boys, research technicians, and young men and women who had always hoped to go to college.

The emphatic success of the first year of this Adult Educational Centre seemed to have established its permanency and the succeeding years have only confirmed this conclusion. The Centre opened its season of 1935 with a still larger enrollment, and in the autumn of that year the name was changed from the Twentieth Century Adult Educational Centre to the Boston Centre for Adult Education. It was evident at the close of this autumn term that the Centre needed new quarters, for up to then its quarters had been rented from the Twentieth Century Club. Accordingly, a committee of substantial citizens made a study of the housing problem. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts granted a charter to the Boston Centre for Adult Education as a nonprofit institution, and the demand for courses was taxing all the facilities of the Centre. It will be of inter-

est to quote the following from Edward Stevensen Robinson: "That individual is rare who does not want to be wiser or more expert in some regard and who would not take at least a little pain to be so if the opportunity were clearly available." This quotation was cited in the bulletin for 1935 of the Centre as an apt summary of the experience of these two years. To quote from this bulletin "the entire attitude of the Centre is based on the practical—to develop innate abilities, to foster the abundant life, and to nourish true American culture. The Centre gives opportunity, it develops creative ability, it emphasizes the expression of positive personality."

In October 1936 the Centre entered its new home at 79 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston. This house, in one of the loveliest sections of Beacon Hill Boston, sets back from this venerable street with a personality that is all its own. Every room in this house has a fireplace; the stairs, the woodwork, the shapes of the rooms, the paneled library, with a window seat opposite the fireplace, all give just the right atmosphere. The original plan of not enrolling more than twenty-five persons in a course and sometimes only fourteen or fifteen has been adhered to. There is never a thought of credit, degree, or examination, for there are none of these in the Boston Centre for Adult Education. The autumn 1936 bulletin thus describes the aims of the Centre in its new environment: "The whole idea is to provide a place where mature men and women may learn and do those things they have always wanted to do, but for which thus far they have not found just the right time or place. The Centre's aim is to arrange the setting in which people may take part in the most exciting adventures there are, of discovering, thinking, creating, developing those inner latencies within every one and that must have a chance to mature if we are to live to the full and not merely exist."

With the winter term of 1937, the Centre provided afternoon courses for the first time. This is the beginning of the Centre's plan to have a full program of daytime as well as evening courses; and

as rapidly as finances permit, this list of courses will be supplemented until it is as extensive as the evening offerings. In January 1937 the Centre began three new series of Friday evening events of an unusual and attractive nature. One of these series will be an informal public-discussion series under the direction of Dr. Kirtley F. Mather and will continue on the third Friday of each month. Musical evenings are held on the fourth Friday of each month and in February a monthly sequence of Centre Variety Entertainments was begun.

As this article is merely a description of actual achievements in adult education in the Greater Boston area and particularly in the Boston Centre for Adult Education, it is only necessary to state that a total of fifty-five courses will be given at the Centre during the winter session of 1937. These include a wide range of human interests from specific training in adult-education leadership to poetry writing.

This summer, under the direction of Dr. Mather, the Harvard Summer School will offer two basic courses in adult education: one on its aims and philosophy, the other on program planning and community analysis, both under the direction of a pioneer leader in the movement.

Thus is one of America's larger cities seeking to provide opportunities for adult education through its coördinating agencies. Other interest areas are being served through many organizations and individuals. In the limited space of this article it has seemed better to describe in detail the work in one service area rather than to seek to accomplish the impossible task of summarizing the entire field. The movement described above, like all ventures in adult education, is successful only to the degree that it enlists the enthusiastic cooperation of the other agencies in the community.

RYE'S ADULT-EDUCATION EXPERIMENT

DANA F. WOODMAN¹

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Board of Education*

Rye is a suburban community situated twenty-five miles from New York City. Its winter population is about eight thousand. It has an old established social set, and also an increasing population of comparative newcomers of whom it is said that they use Rye as a bedroom and pay little attention to the affairs of the village. There is another segment of population, consisting of the old-timers who have businesses in Rye, the chauffeurs, gardeners, and a strong Italian-American population—all excellent material for an adult-education experiment.

The Village of Rye in 1931 completed the construction of an unusually beautiful high-school building. The administration of the school soon found itself faced by two problems—first, a justification of the building, which had cost one and one-half million dollars and which was commonly referred to as the “taxpayers’ memorial,” and, second, an explanation as well as a justification for its modern and progressive philosophy and practice.

Efforts have been made in many directions to “sell” the school to the public. Success, to a degree or another, has been met in each of these ventures in educating the public to the place and value of the school in the community. It is now recognized that Rye’s adult-education experiment, which has brought a representative group of citizens to the school week after week, has been one of the most powerful factors in solving these two problems. It has convinced many of our people that the building is a community asset through forms of service other than the education of its young people, and they have found that it is adaptable for many purposes. Secondly,

¹ Credit is given to Mr. A. V. MacCullough, principal of the Rye high school and vice-chairman of the Rye Adult Education Groups, for information included in this article.

in the minds of those in the community who thought of education as a simple process of instruction in the traditional subjects and in the conventional manner, the adult-education classes, which, after all, are but a counterpart of the day instruction in the school, have "sold" modern educational procedures and led to an awakening of the public to the complexities of the learning processes and teaching techniques as we now use them.

One evening this past winter, a Rye society woman telephoned the leader of the public-speaking group. She wanted to know if he would permit her to enroll in his group, even though the second term had started and the class was full. She explained her urgent request by saying that she couldn't talk for two minutes before the Garden Club or anywhere else without having heart failure, and she just had to learn to speak. The leader agreed to allow her to join his group if she could get the approval of the chairman. She appeared before the group manager and registered that same evening. They told her that the tuition for the second half of the year was two dollars and that there were seven more sessions. She misunderstood and said she would give them her check for fourteen dollars. When she realized that it was only two dollars for the entire course, she could not believe it. She was ready to pay more because it was worth so much to her to learn to speak publicly.

That attitude is typical of the members of the groups. But it presented a problem. Should the groups charge more for tuition and possibly raise the financial bars too high for many who needed the course? The first year the registration fee was two dollars for six sessions beginning in the late winter of 1936. The leaders volunteered their services and the Board of Education of the new million-dollar high school donated the use of the building, including heat and light. The only expense was for the superintendent of the building, who could not be expected to donate his services. Expenses were kept down and the budget was balanced at the close of that year. The second year, starting last fall, the registration fee was two dol-

lars for each semester of ten sessions. In special cases, the executive committee, consisting of the chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer, and manager, waived the fee where they felt that it was a hardship for the member to pay anything. One good reason for the registration fee being kept down the second year was the fact that the Board of Education took an active interest in the experiment. They put in their annual budget an item of \$800.00 to help pay expenses of the groups, and the budget was approved by the voters, but not without a fight.

The idea of having adult groups in Rye had to be explained to the voters. It started with a young married woman who had been graduated from a New England college in the same class as her husband. Their children were in the Rye public schools. They had to continue their academic work in their home in order to be able to answer the questions of the children and help them with their studies. This was the "good ground" in which the idea germinated.

One day, in the fall of 1935, this mother buttonholed a member of the high-school board and held him with her glittering eye like the ancient mariner. She asked him if he didn't think it would be a good thing for the community and for the high school to have an adult school in Rye, and to have the groups meet in the new high school. This board member knew that another member objected to the high school's being lit up like a Christmas tree every night, so he was guarded in his reply. He wanted to know just what adult education meant. Even after he was told he was still skeptical. But he promised to tell the story to the Board. There was some confusion in the minds of the members because there was already a well-established Americanization class that was the pet project of one of the old bellwethers of the Board. He did not want duplication of the effort; could not see the difference. Probably the argument that won the support of the Board was this: There were many people in Rye who wanted to go back to "the land of beginning again" and learn a new vocation to support themselves and their families. And doubtless, many others in the community wanted to keep their

minds from getting rusty—to go back to school again. The Board capitulated.

The first step after that was to find out what courses were desired. A return postal card was mailed to five hundred "suspects" in the village. They were requested to indicate in which of the following subjects they were interested: (1) art, (2) shopwork, (3) dress-making, (4) French, adapted to the needs of the group, (5) type-writing, (6) current events, (7) gymnasium—a men's group. They also were asked to add any subject that was not listed. Not many cards came back in the first few days and it looked like a "flop." Some asked for stenography, but it was decided not to attempt to organize such a group. The subject could not be covered in twenty lessons, and the executive committee did not change its mind the second year. But they were not sure they were right.

As a result of the use of the return postal card, about one hundred enrolled the first year and the average attendance was sixty-five. The card had the merit of being simple, and it was easy for the prospect to fill out and put in the mail. The direct-mail advertising experts say that a return of two per cent on the use of a return postal card is satisfactory. Our percentage was much higher. But it needed a personal or at least a telephone follow-up in the opinion of the committee, and that was not done. The postal-card method was pretty casual. Moreover, there was little room on the card for the list of subjects that people were interested in.

Before the first semester last fall, a mimeographed circular containing a list of subjects—the same as those of the first year, with the addition of a public-speaking group—was distributed by the high-school students to their parents and neighbors, and, of course, an announcement appeared in the local papers. The student method of distribution was inefficient and the best way is yet to be discovered. A tentative plan for next year is to ask the Boy and Girl Scouts to do the job, and the prospectus will be printed to look as much like a page from the Harvard catalogue as possible.

So much depended on good leadership of the groups—that was

certain after the first year's experience. The committee decided to pay the leaders. Five dollars a night was not much but it was all the budget could stand and it compared favorably with what was paid in other communities for similar work. As was the case the first year, the staff of leaders was recruited largely from the high-school faculty, but some of the ablest came from the outside. For example, the leader of the public-speaking group, one of the village ministers, had registered in the carpentry group the first year. Every Tuesday evening he spent the time working on an antique table for his summer cottage in New Hampshire. When he was approached by a member of the Executive Committee and asked to become a leader of the public-speaking group, he declined. His reason was that he preferred to finish his table. The suspicion was strong that he loved to work in his shirt sleeves at a bench with a plane, saw, hammer, and such, but he finally gave in. And his group became, numerically at least, the most successful. There was even a waiting list.

The dressmaking group languished and died the second year. Most everybody knew more than the leader did, so some said. Others said there were two colored people in the group and the management should have drawn the color line. The fact remained that the first year there was a successful dressmaking group under the leadership of a sewing-machine company's expert seamstress.

The men's gymnasium class was unsuccessful apparently due only to the fact that there seemed to be no demand for it.

Anticipating the arrival of the seed catalogues and the spring interest in gardening, a garden group was announced for the second semester, starting February. Not one person enrolled. A real effort was made to secure a leader, but without success. This accounts in part for the failure, probably. There are two very successful garden clubs in the village, and perhaps that has something to do with it.

The management of the groups the first year was in the hands of a committee of fifteen, selected from the elementary- and sec-

ondary-school faculties, the Country Day School headmaster, the heads of the Parent-Teachers Organization, and a representative of the Board of Education. There were scarcely any records kept, except financial. The next year the committee of fifteen met and chose an executive committee of five: a chairman, vice-chairman, manager, registrar, and publicity man. The most important man of this committee has proved to be the manager, who has directed the affairs of the groups. He served without pay the first year and received the nominal sum of \$50 for his work the second year.

There is no similarity in the ages of the members. In one group a young man just out of his teens is learning public speaking, and beside him is an oldster of sixty-five years. The committee had to make the rule that no student of high-school age or younger would be permitted to register. The women outnumbered the men two to one. Social and economic lines are obliterated.

The sessions begin at 8 15 and end at 9 45 o'clock. At that time the announcement is made on the loud-speaker in each room that the time to end the meetings has arrived. The members are invited to visit the cafeteria where a simple snack of coffee and doughnuts or sandwiches is ready. There is self-service and members are requested to put on a tray near the door whatever they think it is fair to pay for the food. About half those in attendance in the groups patronize the social hour, which ends at 10 45 with lights out. How to get the other half is engaging the attention of the committee.

Is a job really being done in Rye? Take the case of a colored man in one of the groups. He was praising the work of the leader who had helped him. He said, "I am just a combination chauffeur, butler, and man of all work on an estate here and I am grateful for the training I have received in my group." His leader very graciously replied, "Years ago a man picked some very ordinary people for His work of spreading the Gospel and they became the founders of our faith. You, too, may have a great mission. Who knows?"

BOOK REVIEWS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

A Step Forward for Adult Civic Education, Bulletin No. 17, 1937.

This publication is devoted to the description of a program that brings about contact between trained leaders on social and economic problems and members of the community who are less familiar with the problems and means of remedying them. It is a specific illustration of the use of discussion or forum groups. This program is sponsored by the FERA, which has appropriated the sum of \$330,000 to establish ten demonstration programs in ten different States, under local management.

Public Affairs Pamphlets, Bulletin No. 3, 1937.

A tabulation of over 660 publications. Gives names, authors, publishers, prices, and contents. Useful to teachers of social sciences and forum directors.

Safeguarding Democracy Through Adult Civic Education, Bulletin No. 6, 1936.

A booklet presenting several of the commissioner's public addresses and articles, and discussing the philosophy of civic education. Useful to teachers and civic leaders seeking a clear-cut definition and defense of academic freedom and of adult civic education.

Education for Democracy—Public Affairs Forums, Bulletin No. 17, 1935.

A handbook for forum leaders and managers. Devoted mainly to techniques and methods. Presents factual material on Des Moines and other forums; contains bibliography on forums and public discussion.

PUBLICATIONS PLANNED

Choosing Our Way

A study of 430 forums conducted under various auspices.

Junior Forums

Describes forum techniques for use in high schools, colleges, and universities.

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